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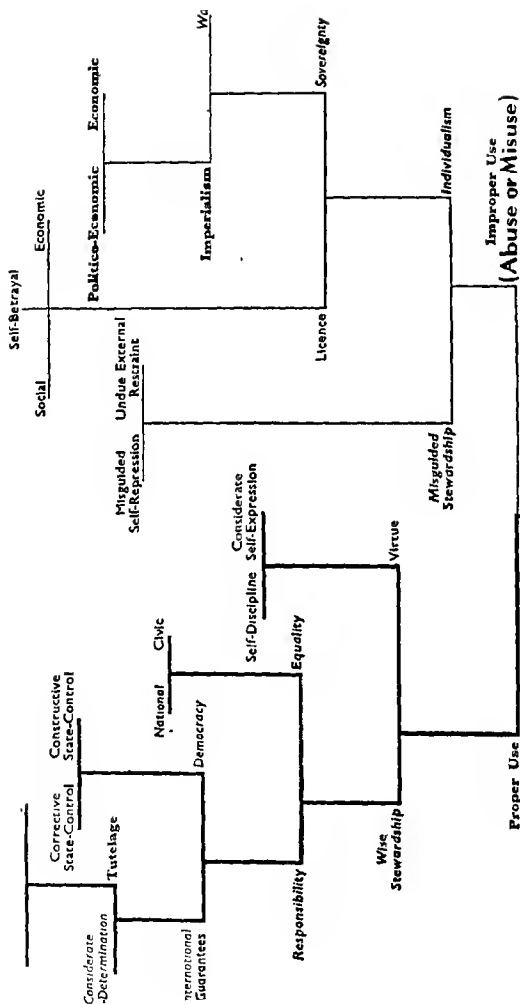
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BIO-ECONOMICS



POWER RAMIFICATIONS OF POWER

BIO-ECONOMICS

BY

JOSEPH YAHUDA, LL.B.

OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON, AND OF THE INNER TEMPLE
BARRISTER-AT-LAW

*"Man is in the making, but henceforth he must
make himself."*

LOWES DICKINSON



LONDON

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1938

ALSO BY JOSEPH YAHUDA

Foreword by

VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD

THIS DEMOCRACY

VISCOUNT CECIL writes in the Foreword:—

"This little book is worthy of being read for two reasons. In the first place, it is a careful and, in parts, an illuminating study of the grave questions with which it deals. The other reason why the book may be recommended for perusal is that it deals with a subject of very urgent and actual importance. The author of this book provisionally accepts many of the evolutionary conceptions which have been for some years popular in political speculation. Certainly they deserve careful and respectful consideration, though, unless controlled by common sense, they may lead, as he shows, to fantastic results."

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TO
SIR DAVID
AND
LADY EZRA

PREFACE

THE object of this book is to examine and define the character and extent of the influence exerted by politico-economic organization on the survival and development of the race. To attain it I have opened up a new path in the field of biology, which seems to lead to wide horizons and boundless prospects.

In the first place, the basis of modern economic and social principles and institutions is analysed and determined, and the relation between them and evolutionary laws and phenomena is established. Then it is demonstrated that, in addition to being divided from the point of view of privilege, every modern community is cross-divided from the standpoint of fitness. There follows a detailed exposition of the main factors which cause migration to take place from one of the four categories of citizens thus formed to another. Finally, an attempt is made to ascertain whether and how the quality of the human stock is improving or deteriorating under modern conditions, to discover the fundamental causes of the rise and decline of nations and of the recurrence of revolutions and invasions, and to settle the politico-economic principles the application of which would ensure racial progress. Apart from the adduction of historical facts, scientific

data and statistical figures—drawn upon from time to time in support of particular contentions—a short account is given of the development of politico-economic institutions, and the state of England has been inquired into in some detail, with a view to illustrating and proving the general thesis as a whole.

The theme, I am convinced, is worthy of poets and prophets; mine, however, is the comparatively humble part of gathering material for genius to fashion. As a rule, I have avoided the complicated and the controversial, finding sufficient material upon which to work in the simple indisputable facts, relations and processes of everyday life. I have endeavoured to outline what is, as I see it, and what I have concluded ought to be; though not the ways and means of achieving the ideal. If the effort possesses any merit, it does not, in my opinion, rest on the strength of this or that argument, or on the soundness of any particular conclusion; but mainly on the submission that it heralds a new pattern of science of vital consequence. As a matter of fact, I have come to the conclusion that the human race is actually decaying, and that unless certain steps are taken in time—nationally and internationally—to regenerate the human stock, mankind is irrevocably doomed. I may be wrong. Even so, this work would lose little or nothing of its value as a contribution to knowledge and as a basis for further investigation. Either this book

PREFACE

is full of charlatanism from beginning to end, or it is the beginning of the end of charlatanism in economics and politics.

The common origin of species and/or their common experience must needs account for some similarities between certain biological features and human social conduct and organization. On the other hand, having regard to the distinction of man from the rest of animal kind, differences are naturally to be expected. Thus the composite content of Natural Selection is reflected in the existence at the foundation of inter-human relations of the principles of Individualism and Stewardship. Again, the two kinds of competition which obtain in the realm of Nature, one between different species and the other between individuals of the same species, find their counterparts in our present economic system. A third example is to be found in the process of development of natural characteristics—such as those of pachyderms—which is paralleled, both in origin and in consequences, by the invention and production of armaments. *Per contra*, Economic Individualism and Social Individualism are more subtle and more complicated than the individualism which is practised in the state of Nature; while the Class Struggle and its companion, the Quadripartite Pattern, are peculiar to mankind. Incidentally, the study of the interaction between the four categories of persons that form modern society has let in the

factor of Osmosis, which is otherwise confined to the kingdom of plants.

Two socio-biological features dominate the entire survey, shedding fresh light on various vital problems and giving a new orientation to politico-economic thought. They are: the biological insolvency of what I call the Individualistic-Quadripartite System of society, and the pregnant possibilities of Stewardship—the lode-star of all living. Stewardship, Individualism, and Virtue are biologically defined; but it is important to note that whereas Stewardship may be either wise or misguided, according to whether its results are pro-Survival or anti-Survival in character, Virtue is an absolute term which designates an integral ingredient of Fitness; so that no conduct which in effect does not further intelligence or health can be virtuous. The survival of the human race is the goal of statesmanship, and the test of Survival ought to decide whether a certain activity should be tolerated and the extent to which it might be pursued, though what is actually in favour of the survival of mankind and what is against it may be the subject of controversy.

See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil . . . I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life that both thou and thy seed may live.

Deuteronomy XXX, 15-19

The table entitled “Ramifications of Power,”

which forms the *frontispiece*, is an attempt at codifying and classifying the modes of use of Power from the Survival standpoint. It is not merely theoretical, but of day-to-day practical value. By its means it is possible to test any rule of conduct, institution, act or feature; e.g. the law of libel or the law of marriage, the British Empire or the League of Nations, rape or exceeding the speed limit, and a theatrical or cinematographical performance. It may, for instance, be invoked in legal argument on what the policy of the law should be, or in political discussions concerning proposed legislation, whether by way of criticism or with a view to making a constructive contribution to the perfection of social organization. The following groups may be distinguished by the different types in which they are respectively printed—the Survival kinds of use of Power sprouting from the thick branch and the non-Survival kinds from the thin—

1. Survival and non-Survival Use of Power: Proper Use; Improper Use (Abuse or Misuse).

2. Survival and non-Survival Principles: Stewardship (Wise and Misguided); Responsibility; Equality; Individualism.

3. Concerning the Individual: Virtue; Self-Discipline; Considerate Self-Expression; Civic (Equality); Corrective State Control; Constructive State Control; Misguided Self-Repression;

Undue External Restraint;¹ Licence (Social and Economic); Self-Betrayal.

4. Concerning Independent States: Considerate Self-Determination; International Guarantees; Democracy; National (Equality); Sovereignty; War.

5. Concerning International Combinations: Tutelage (International and Imperial); Imperialism (Politico-Economic and Economic).

Freedom can be enjoyed only when, on one hand, personal self-expression is commensurate with self-discipline and supplemented by State-control; and on the other, national self-determination is pursued with a sense of neighbourly consideration towards other nations and subject to international guarantees, such as treaties, conventions and Imperial Constitutions. Political equipoise will not be attained or maintained by taking the *via media*—whatever that may be—or keeping to it, any more than weight equilibrium can be achieved by fixing the poise midway between the fulcrum and the tip of the steelyard.

Turning to the structure of modern society,

¹ Misguided Self-Repression and Undue External Restraint are modes of use of Power common to both the individual and the community. For instance, assuming the ban on the Austro-German *Anschluss* to have been placed in good faith, with a view to preserving the peace and promoting the prosperity of Europe as a whole, it may be argued that this external pressure was misguided and that, in postponing the abolition of trade barriers between themselves, Austria and Germany exercised unwarranted self-repression.

I may say that the realization of its quadripartite nature teaches us, as nothing else does, that people's experience does not leave human stock unaffected morally, mentally, or physically—that it is absurd, for instance, for both sides in the Spanish (not so) civil war to respect the Alhambra, and yet to kill, mutilate, torture, and irritate millions in a thousand ways, on the ground that masterpieces of art are irreplaceable whereas human beings may be reproduced; that it is sham and ephemeral progress to build bigger and more beautiful monuments and make faster and more efficient machines, while neglecting the all-important human element; that financial prosperity spells biological bankruptcy, unless the services rendered and the goods exchanged actually promote health and intelligence; that rivalry, in its innumerable forms, ought to be organized in such a way as to discourage Individualism and to breed Virtue. It also brings home the fact that what matters is not only the size of a community, but also and mainly the average standard of fitness of the population and the proportion which the fit bear to the non-fit. The ascertainment of this standard and this proportion within the nations concerned is one of the indispensable elements to the satisfactory solution of the problems respecting inter-State migration, colonies, and markets. Therefore, the compilation of an Imperial Domesday Book of fitness is an essential preliminary to the formulation of a

sound policy on the questions of Trade and of Empire Settlement.

My own summary, though, I hope, not superficial, investigation indicates that the number of the fit in Britain has lessened, is diminishing, and ought to be increased; while the standard of fitness has lowered, is declining and ought to be raised.¹ It would seem then that this country needs immigrants for two purposes: one, to replenish and invigorate the native stock wherever its ranks have been depleted, irrespective of the original training or profession of the immigrants;² and the other, to replace the Britons whom we ought to send forth to exploit the untapped wealth of the Empire. If we would maintain our pre-eminent position in the world, we must provide racial reinforcements, while putting our own house in order and co-operating with other nations in the placing of international relations on a rational and friendly basis. For generations Britain has been the world's workshop, the world's carrier, the world's counting-house, and the world's policeman. This leadership has not only stimulated but also unduly drained the virility and the vigour of her population. Without adequate racial reserves, the losses to our stock

¹ Britain is not alone in this predicament. On the contrary, taking the conditions of survival as a whole, we are probably less badly off than most nations.

² The swelling stream of immigrants concealed the injury to the American stock undoubtedly caused by the rapid and growing industrialization of the U.S. Let the Soviet beware of the hidden dangers of "Stakhanovism."

would continue to surpass the gains, and sooner or later—sooner rather than later, having regard to the critical condition of the world—we should inevitably tumble into racial bankruptcy. To have been foremost in the fields of industry and modern colonization may be to our credit, but it has severely taxed our racial resources, *as other factors—absent here—have impoverished Continental stock*. Again, the Dominions are in great and immediate need of settlers, though owing to mal-organization some of them suffer from unemployment. It would be imprudent to satisfy this population-hunger entirely or mainly from foreign quarters, because the size of the overseas communities and their distance from Europe circumscribe their capacity for cultural absorption. Therefore, if aliens poured into the Dominions in great numbers, they would find it very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to adjust themselves politically to the freedom and fraternity of the Commonwealth. Our capacity for cultural assimilation, however, is infinitely superior to that of the Dominions, so that we could and ought to maintain a constant and substantial flow of emigration overseas, while grafting new elements on to our population.

Such a process of national reconstruction and imperial consolidation can go on unhampered both in Britain and in France, side by side with the legitimate and peaceful expansion of Germany and Italy. Not only is it impossible for us to

check their development, but it is positively to our advantage and to the benefit of mankind that these hundred and twenty million Europeans should flourish as our friends and collaborators in the task of remoulding human surroundings in such a way as to ensure Survival. Magic Axis and Triangle will not mesmerize England, France, and the U.S.S.R. into abject surrender; the end of another war (should another war break out) would not see the Democracies (including the U.S.A.) vanquished; but unless we are careful, we shall hopelessly be defeated in peace. If other nations drag us into war and thus bring about their own ruin, it will be partly their fault, whatever might happen to us as a result of the fratricidal conflict; it will be entirely ours if we fail to make the best of peace. For the time being at any rate, we are masters of our own destiny, perhaps also of that of mankind. If we do not realize our responsibility and rise to its height, the consequences of our neglect will be dire indeed. And this is also true of the other great Democracies.

It must be emphasized here that Democracy is a means to an end, not an end in itself. If it be not used for the purpose of Survival, there is no virtue in it at all and it must end in tyranny. On the other hand, if absolute power be used for that purpose, Democracy is bound to sprout from it and will ultimately prevail. For instance, National Socialism is objectionable from the

Survival point of view on at least four grounds: its magnification of might; its anti-democratic dogma; its hostility to minorities; and its grotesque racialism. Obviously, in such an atmosphere virtue will not prosper. Yet *if* the Nazi Revolution succeeds in promoting health through youth and workers' organizations, and advances on the way of a classless society, through such institutions as the Labour Camps and the Colleges for Leaders,¹ the day may still dawn when Democracy will be reborn in Germany and develop naturally and with native vitality.² On the other hand, should we remain inactive or adopt a wrong policy, we should betray our democratic traditions, forfeit our justly prized freedom, and lose the opportunity of making a contribution to the survival and happiness of mankind, which this country alone can make.

If my research helps somewhat to make this issue clear, and to stimulate active interest in it, I shall feel that I have been amply rewarded.

I have much pleasure in placing on record my

¹ Our Public Schools are instinct through and through with prejudices of Class and Privilege, whereas the Duke of York's Camp is an extremely short and narrowly limited affair—more of a caricature than a characteristic.

² As for Fascism, it has played second fiddle to Nazism since the coming into being of the so-called Rome-Berlin Axis; Italy's engine of State has been converted into a trailer hitched on to the German lorry. Let us hope that the Anglo-Italian Agreement will render it possible for Mussolini to retrieve his independence, and that he will make—in true partnership with Hitler—a statesmanlike contribution to world organization.

gratitude to Cecile, my wife, who has patiently deciphered and typed all my writings, and to my friend, Gerald Emanuel, for having kindly read with me both the typescript and the proofs —by no means a perfunctory task.

So far, little volume, these two have been your only acquaintances; go forth and try to make others!

J. Y.

TEMPLE, 1938

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BIO-ECONOMICS

CHAPTER I

POWER

USE OF POWER

RUINS of ancient cities are constantly brought to light, and traces are discovered of prehistoric human achievement. But the communities, sometimes even the races, with which these remains were at one time identified, have been lost in oblivion. For instance, the builders of Stonehenge and the founders of Carthage. What is the reason for such annihilation? Various cultures have developed in different parts of the earth, independently of one another, and one after the other have invariably disappeared from under the sun. Most of these succeeding civilizations started not at the level reached by those respectively preceding them, but on lower foundations and from almost primitive stages of social and scientific development—from scratch. Thus at the close of the dazzling career of Rome there followed the dark period of the early Middle Ages, while we still lag behind some landmarks of Greek and Egyptian progress. Why, one may ask, this recurrent retrogression?

Hitherto men and women have cast about for

means to achieve happiness, beauty, goodness; but the quest has eluded them, because these are dependent objects, the *sine qua non* being the survival of the race. The requisites of race survival are: intelligence, health, and virtue—the three cardinal attributes of fitness. Intelligence helps man to detect and neutralize present latent dangers and to foresee and avert future perils. Health helps him properly to carry out the behests of intelligence. Besides, without it, intelligence itself cannot endure. Intelligence and health are the source and channel of all human power. Virtue is the will and desire (evolving into a disposition) to use intelligence and health in the way of their own development, both in oneself and in others. This quality it is which distinguishes, for instance, courage from recklessness on one hand and from cowardice on the other. For the protection of intelligence and health, therefore, the development of virtue must be commensurate with the individual's power. A state, act, or omission which affects any of these three attributes one way or the other—and what does not?—is either for or against race-preservation.¹ Further, the use of any power must be judged in relation to these survival attributes.

Power may be defined as any faculty, ability, or opportunity, and it may be used either properly or improperly. The proper use of power is the exercise thereof in favour of race-survival; the

¹ See *This Democracy*, by Joseph Yahuda, pp. xii and 6-16

improper use of power is the exercise thereof in a way which is inconsistent with race-survival. For the sake of clearness, a distinction will be made here between misuse and abuse of power. When the improper use is innocent, the power is said to be misused; when, however, the improper use is wilful, then the power is abused.

Power is liable to be used improperly when it is wielded in respect of objects solely or mainly by reason of their being favoured or disapproved of by its custodian, whether the custodian be an individual, a group, or a nation. For in this case the element of survival does not take precedence of all other considerations, but is subordinate to some interest which may be inconsistent with that element. This is self-selection, and it finds expression either in Individualism or in Stewardship. By individualism is meant the exercise of power on one's own behalf, regardless of the consequences to others. Stewardship, on the other hand, is a principle whereby whoever is fortunate in the possession of exceptional powers must use them primarily on behalf of his fellows.¹ Whereas individualistic self-selection is the incarnation of abuse of power, fiduciary self-selection might, in certain circumstances, lead to the misuse of power. And while abuse of power may be checked through self-discipline and organized responsibility, the development of scientific knowledge is the only preventive and cure for misuse of power.

¹ See pp. 43-4, below.

History has duly recorded a few of the comparatively recent convulsions which have shaken mankind, and some material details of the rise and fall of the mighty. From these scanty annals we learn that all civilizations in historical times, irrespective of the stage of scientific progress attained, have had at least one fatal feature in common, that is, important powers were, and are, left within the exclusive discretion of individuals, groups and peoples who were not—and still are not—accountable for their exercise of such powers to any constituted authority.¹ True, individualistic tendencies have always been checked in every society (and herd); but sometimes pioneering tendencies have been fettered unduly, so that initiative has been stifled to the detriment of race-development; at other times a wide margin of licence, euphemistically called freedom and sovereignty, has been allowed to persons and communities.

The vital problem for statesmen to solve resolves itself into the following inquiries—

a. Is the present constitution of society conducive to the survival of the human race?

b. If it is not, what are the principles on which society ought to be organized with a view to survival?

Let us examine the regulation of the use of power in modern civilization from two

¹ Another feature common to all civilizations is the lack of adequate power wherewith to meet some aspect or other of man's natural environment; but we are not directly concerned with it here.

principal points of view, the economic and the social.

ECONOMIC INDIVIDUALISM

When the field of power is economic, the law generally permits human beings to be organized into various groups of different dimensions, primarily for the benefit or satisfaction of the organizer or organizers, secondarily for the benefit or satisfaction of the organized, and only incidentally, if at all, for the benefit of the community at large.¹

One could multiply examples almost indefinitely to prove the accuracy of this statement, but the following types will suffice to illustrate the point we wish to make, namely, the existence in modern society of arbitrary power and of opportunities for its abuse. We should do well, however, to point out at the outset four important facts:

First, that Individualism is essentially psychological, while Economic Individualism is institutional. The former begets the latter, and is in turn stimulated by it.

Second, though the organizers and the organized—as a whole—constitute the community at large, these three inter-penetrating groups are

¹ "Benefit" and "satisfaction" are not always interchangeable terms; an experience may cause satisfaction to one, and yet be of no benefit to him or to others, and vice versa. The fitter the individual and the better the communal organization, the oftener benefit coincides with satisfaction and the closer they approximate each to the other. See pp. 32 and 38, below.

quite distinct one from the other, and their respective interests are not always identical or coincident. So much so that when any industry is comprehensively brought under control, each of them is represented separately on the directing Board as Producers, Labour, and Consumers, respectively.

Third, that some who are organizers from one point of view may rightly be described as organized from another. For instance, the several shareholders of a company are at one time the organized from the point of view of the company promoters, but at another they are, in their corporate capacity, the organizers from the point of view of the company's employees. It is, moreover, obvious that the terms "organizer" and "organized" are not respectively synonymous with "employer" and "employed."

Fourth, that both in their own interest and by necessity, the organizers—as a *body*—study and husband the welfare of the organized.

Here are some examples of this unique type of organization :

a. The owner of a shop, factory, or mine (whether an individual, a firm, or a company)—the organizer—employs, at an agreed wage, a number of men and women—the organized—to assist him in the exploitation of his undertaking, so long as it brings him in what he deems to be an adequate profit. But if and when he realizes that it no longer pays him to operate it, he

forthwith gives notice to the staff, and in due course disbands his servants, and closes down.¹ Note that in this vital respect they are primarily *his* servants, not society's; they were brought together to work for him and have been kept together for so long as their co-operation has been profitable to him. Besides, in times of meagre returns, rather than suffer a reduction in his own income, the ordinary employer begins by reducing his staff and strenuously attempts to lower to a compressed minimum the wages of the employees remaining in his service, ignoring the consequences his action is likely to have on their well-being and on that of their dependants. Indeed, such is the keenness of the competition and the feeling of insecurity in our economic environment, that he may as often as not be driven to take the above drastic steps against his finer sentiments and in sheer self-defence. Thus it sometimes happens that some unscrupulous organizers, within or beyond the frontiers, set a low standard of conditions to which others must conform if they wish to survive the competition.

b. The senior partner of a firm, or the capable manager of a company, may be "entitled" to appoint his son, or some other favourite, as co-partner or co-director, without regard to the merit

¹ Referring to a firm whose profits accrued exclusively to the benefit of the employees, Mr. Ivan Snell, the Marylebone Magistrate, made the following comment: "They seem to be ideal employers, who run what is practically a charitable organization."

of the incumbent: guinea-pigs are quite at home in all the commercial centres of the world. What would happen to our Merchant and Royal navies, if captaincies were nowadays distributable in the same nepotistic way, needs very little imagination to visualize. Such abuses of patronage are not only a burden on the concerns affected, but also obstacles in the way of promising young men and women and a handicap to progress generally. This setback goes on undetected, not because it is unimportant, but simply because the discreditable practice prevails more or less equally everywhere, the resulting shortcomings in one business house or country being cancelled out by similar shortcomings in a rival business house or country. Therefore it would be strange if, in consequence, the average standard of efficiency did not stand at a comparatively low level.

Akin to the power of appointment is that of dismissal. They are both potential engines of prostitution, sexual and mental, not infrequently put into action. Obviously, in the case of long-term contracts of employment, which are relatively rare, the master guilty of wrongful dismissal is cast in damages. This personal remedy, however, may or may not adequately compensate the aggrieved servant in a particular case; but it can never redress the wrong suffered by the community through the exercise of arbitrary power. For, in the overwhelming majority of cases, the mere fact that such power exists and may be

wielded exerts sufficient influence to determine the course of events in a way which is favoured by certain individuals, though it may not be beneficial to the community at large.

At the editorial head of each of the great papers stands the editor, who rightly or wrongly is supposed to be responsible for all that appears or does not appear in his paper. There may be behind him a proprietor or a group of owners, who themselves lay down the policy to which he must rigidly conform, and even give him his line of country day by day. That is more or less the case now. . . . You do that [i.e. intimate to a "backer" that his place is in the board room and not in the editorial department] now to any of your newspaper potentates, and you'll take an indefinite holiday with a large cheque to compensate you for your enforced idleness.¹

Nevertheless, it is to be observed that in corporations of nation-wide scope, such as the big banks and the railway companies, and in other reputable business organizations, the powers of appointment and dismissal are regulated almost as systematically and as fairly as they are by Municipal Authorities and State Departments. With regard to industrial concerns, the Trade Unions exercise a beneficial influence in this behalf.

c. A liquor expert sets up a distillery or a brewery, with the avowed intention of making and selling as much whisky or beer as possible, quite independently of the vital question—whether

¹ R. D. Blumenfeld, Master of the Company of Newspaper Makers, *Nash's Magazine*, November, 1933.

alcohol is good or bad for his particular customers. Nor are the restrictions on the customers, confined as they are mostly to times and places of sale, sufficiently circumspect to ensure the moderate consumption of drink. Accepting Lord Horder's view that no scientific experiment has proved that the consumption of alcohol in moderation is injurious to health, it is all-important that the limits of moderation should be observed. Air-pilots, motor drivers, factory workers—in fact, everybody—ought to be abstemious in this highly mechanical age. Yet, largely on account of Economic Individualism, actually very few people are. Thus it has been estimated that more than half the arrests leading to conviction on drunkenness take place during week-ends. "Nearly 25 per cent of the accidents at factories occur on a Monday, 20 per cent on a Tuesday, and 15 per cent on other weekdays, except Saturday, which is a half-day. This shows that something happens at the week-end." Meanwhile, the organizers and the organized continue, the ones to draw their profits and salaries, and the others to receive their salaries and wages; but the community at large does not necessarily benefit thereby. The employed, as well as the employers, acquire a vested interest in the undertaking, owing to Economic Individualism—the mother and nurse of vested interests.

d. An armament firm institutes a scientific research department and enlists on its behalf the

services of trained men to follow a certain line of investigation. In this case the organizer is the firm, and the organized are the technical as well as the unskilled staff, the members of which place their mental capacity and physical energies unreservedly at the disposal of the firm—irrespective of the use to which the fruit of their labour is to be put. The firm sells its product to all those who pay for it, subject now to official export licences the granting of which is governed by considerations of immediate expediency. That is how European and American manufacturers have been supplying arms and other war material to both China and Japan in Asia, and to both Bolivia and Paraguay in South America.¹

Of war it is sufficient to state here that in its primitive form of foray it was a mere offshoot of Economic Individualism, and in the Middle Ages private wars were of common occurrence among feudal lords on the Continent. It is not less strongly based on Individualism to-day because, owing to the advent of the Industrial Revolution, it may be waged on a world-wide scale. Individualism “finds its most acute national expression in war. It assumes then its ugliest aspect and most uncompromising character, running naked and unashamed. For war is the use of force by two self-regarding rival groups (e.g. nations) or sets of

¹ According to Article viii of the Covenant of the League of Nations, “the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections.”

rival groups (e.g. allied powers), with the object of settling in favour of the victorious side a conflict between their respective desires, without reference to the merits or demerits of those desires from the point of view of race-preservation. War's avowed object is the complete destruction or the unconditional surrender of the opponent; it is to the community what the duel is to the individual."¹ During the Great War practically the whole of mankind was regimented into two huge rival camps, but the wholesale slaughter was such that it engulfed organizers and organized alike and ended in general exhaustion.

e. Company promoters—the organizers—are mainly interested in the particular flotation upon which they are required to embark only so far as it will "attract" sufficient investment to pay their commission or profit. It is for the would-be shareholders—the organized—to inquire and speculate on the "demand" for the prospective corporation's undertaking, e.g. the erection of a motor-car or tobacco factory. None of them studies the effect of the contemplated product or service on similar undertakings or the common weal; simply enough, that is not their business. Meanwhile, the Criminal law allows a good deal of "freedom" to their activities with regard to the conditions of manufacture and the mode of distribution. The annual crop of fraudulent bankruptcies and compulsory liquidations of

¹ *This Democracy*, p. 70.

short lived companies, and the periodical outcry against certain commercial undertakings, such as Football Pools, redundant Greyhound Racing Tracks, and the production and sale of drugs and arms, afford full justification for our contention.

f. Members of a profession, such as lawyers or physicians, organize themselves into corporations and acquire certain privileges within the community, e.g. that of representing others in Court or of assuming a recognized medical title. From one point of view, they are both organizers and organized; from another, they are organizers and their respective clerks, assistants and other servants are the organized; from yet a third, they, as a body, are the organizers, and the rest of the community—who are required to pay for their services at an agreed or imposed rate—are the organized. As a rule, an expert will not render service except in consideration of what is thought to be an adequate emolument. If an individual cannot afford the required remuneration, he very often has to forgo the needed service—to his own disadvantage and to that of society as well.

It must be admitted, however, that some professions are better organized for communal service than the trades. Particularly is that the case of the medical profession. But the attempts made to place the services of the legal profession liberally at the disposal of the less fortunate

members of the public have so far fallen short of success. It may be said that the recommendations of the Departmental Committee, set up to investigate the abuses of share-pushing, aim at transforming the dealing in stocks and shares from a purely commercial enterprise into an honourable profession. Incidentally, this is one of several indications that a definite movement is afoot, the trend of which points away from Individualism and towards Stewardship.

In order to bring out the difference between these two principles, let us imagine that a member of the police force—one of the organized—exacts gifts for sanctioning permissible conduct, or accepts bribes for overlooking forbidden misdemeanour; and that an employee of a manufacturing company—one of the organized—unlawfully sells a trade secret. The constable converts the police force from a public body, organized primarily for the benefit of the community and indirectly (not incidentally) for that of the members of the force (including himself), into an organization to be used for his own benefit or satisfaction at the expense of the community at large. On the other hand, the employee converts the company from an organization operated primarily for the benefit or satisfaction of the organizers, into an organization to be utilized primarily for his own benefit or satisfaction, at the expense of the organizers. Further, his betrayal may prejudice the interests of his fellow-organized, who have a

secondary claim on the company. Finally, he is no more moved by considerations of communal benefit than the organizers are.

Now both the constable and the employee in question have abused the respective powers which were entrusted to them and are guilty of an offence, namely, corruption or extortion. But in one case a public body based on the principle of Stewardship has been violated and fundamentally perverted into an individualistic organization, in the other an individualistic organization operated primarily in favour of one set of persons has been turned into an individualistic organization operated primarily on behalf of another set of persons. In the former the interests of the community are necessarily prejudiced, quite apart from the breach of trust, which is, *prima facie*, inimical to public interest and race-survival; in the latter they are not necessarily prejudiced, except for the breach of trust. The employee merely transfers his allegiance from one rival to another; the policeman transforms himself from a useful co-operator into a noxious parasite.

SOCIAL INDIVIDUALISM

But the organizers, as the following examples will show, are not invariably privileged economic engineers in pursuit of profit, though the economic element often plays an important part in Social Individualism:

1. Thus a gentleman or a lady has a legal

“right,” perhaps also a social “duty,” to keep an up-to-date stud or kennel and to employ grooms to attend to the race-horses or greyhounds. The stables and kennels are clean and cosy, the food excellent, the heath for training open and wide. At the same time, three or four dozen dirty, shabby slum children are imprisoned within four walls with one teacher. That is how more attention is devoted to horses and dogs that contribute comparatively little to the survival of the human race, than to fellow-humans. From the point of view of bio-political economy, the children are actually robbed of every minute of time, every ounce of energy, spent on these animals, and the consequences of their neglect are disastrous to the community.

Oh! what blinkards are we gentlemen, to train any dumb beasts more carefully than we do Christians; that a man shall keep his dog-breakers, and his horse-breakers, and his hawk-breakers, and never hire him a boy-breaker or two.

KINGSLEY, *Saint's Tragedy*, I, i, 155-9.

The interest taken in racing, irrespective of any consideration of race-survival, creates a “demand” which induces and enables men and women to earn a living by waiting upon animals, instead of being employed directly and/or indirectly in the service of the young and the needy among the people. Yet this is what the Assistant Education Officer of the L.C.C. told a party of public schoolboys in April, 1936—

A census of children at school in a poor district of London some years ago revealed that eight-year-old scholars had not seen any other animals than a horse, dog, and cat. Children three years older had also seen a cow. About 25 per cent of the children had not seen a patch of grass even in a London park. Only 2 per cent of them had seen the sea, while many children who lived near the Thames had not seen the river.

The Greeks and the Romans used to indulge in breeding dogs and horses, and were noted for their passionate love of these animals; but they have fallen. Is this a matter of cause and effect? Is it a symptom of perversion and decadence? It is relevant to note that the symphily instinct of the ants, which prompts them to attend to intruders of other species in their nest, may be of a perverse character. They are often so much absorbed in caring for these "guests," that they actually neglect their own kind to the extreme of endangering the very existence of their colony. In our own society pets may be, and actually are, provided for in wills, so that the influence of animal lovers continues even after their decease. Here is an instance of misuse of power; but the effects of such misplaced endeavours are not less, but rather more, race-suicidal because the road to racial extinction is not direct or taken deliberately, since the peril is unsuspected. A recent case is in point:

At the end of last year the Court upheld two legacies amounting to £15,000 bequeathed by a man and his wife for the provision of a luxurious

home for cats in Liverpool. The following details are of interest—

a. The husband used to say that he cared for cats and not for his fellows, because human beings were able to look after themselves. Would it not be equally true to say that cats can look after themselves? At any rate, we can only look after ourselves by looking after one another, not by pampering pets.

b. He became obsessed with the love of cats after the death of their only child. It shows how easily the libido is transferable from human beings to beasts.¹

c. Neither spouse seems to have taken a scientific interest in cats, which might have accrued to the benefit of mankind.

2. Gaming houses are forbidden by law, and individuals may not form a members' club for the purpose of passing their leisure time in gambling. As members, they would be both the organizers and the organized; though as proprietors of the club, they would be the organizers and their employees the organized. Such an organization might afford continuous and unmixed satisfaction to every one of its members, or to most of them; but it is doubtful whether it would be of any real benefit to them. As for the community—assuming

¹ Because it is also easily transferable from animals to people, cruelty to animals is an offence against survival, and a moderate attachment to pets by children ought to be encouraged. The R.S.P.C.A. records 36,000 cases of cruelty in 1937-8—4000 more than in 1936-7. As to undue attachment to pets, see p. 24, below.

for the sake of argument that gambling is an indifferent pursuit—it could derive no advantage from such an association. An important feature in this case is that the members would entertain one another without reference to the welfare of the community; which brings us to the institution of marriage, where the organizers and the organized are also identical persons united for their mutual comfort.

In England a couple may unite in matrimony irrespective of the state of health of either spouse (except obvious insanity),¹ or of the differences which may exist between them as regards race, colour, class, or religion. Nor is there a limit to the discrepancy in age, provided both are adults, though the discrepancy in their ages may be such as to affect the happiness of the home or the fitness of the offspring, if any. These considerations are supposed to be the couple's own private concern, and the effect of the union on the present and future welfare of the community at large is never taken into consideration. Thus in 1935 there were 814 girls in England and Wales who married at the age of 16, their mates ranging between the ages of 16 and 45. Apart from the laws of bigamy, incest, and consanguinity, men and women are completely at liberty to carry out their matrimonial purpose and to satisfy their mutual desire in this respect, exactly as the members of

¹ Anomalously enough, incurable insanity was not a ground for divorce until 1938.

our club would have been in another respect. This at a time when education in eugenics and matters pertaining to sex generally is neglected. Therefore, in this country matrimony is still a peculiar species of Individualism.

In Germany, however, marriages are nowadays controlled with regard to race and health, and in so far as they are communally controlled, the institution of matrimony is withdrawn from the operation of individualistic tendencies. Whether the particular tests applied are in accordance with sound scientific data and with the principles of race-survival, is another story which would go to prove that the partial or complete abolition of Individualism is not an absolute guarantee of race-survival.¹ Opinion is not necessarily right from the survival standpoint because it is held by the majority. Let statesmen beware of misusing the power they wield, for the consequences of honest misuse of power by misguided stewards may be as fatal as the deliberate abuse thereof.

But marriage is only one aspect of sexual relations that might degenerate into a species of Social Individualism; there are others.

3. From time immemorial and throughout the world it has been borne in upon mankind that sex constitutes a power the improper use of which works mischief and, consequently, that

¹ Hence the importance of increasing and spreading sound knowledge and weeding out prejudice. See *This Democracy*, pp. 72-113.

sexual relations ought to be regulated and controlled. Thus formerly fornication was, in certain communities, a crime punishable capitally by burning. This was presumably a measure devised primarily for the protection of marriage, the institution which lies at the foundation of the family. And as the family was then far more truly than it is nowadays the rational unit of society, it must be conceded, in fairness to those who conceived this drastic and brutal retribution,¹ that they had the good of the community at heart. Later, however, statesmen not less anxious for the public welfare became persuaded that voluntary sexual intercourse might, at its worst, be merely a private wrong. In England, at any rate, fornication is not a crime, any more than adultery; but either may amount to a civil wrong rendering the male liable to damages.

Naturally, this kind of Social Individualism opened the door wide to abuses. By way of safeguard, therefore, against the indiscretion of youth, it is an offence to have carnal knowledge of a female under 16, notwithstanding her consent thereto. A complementary check to sexual experience and reproduction among juveniles is the prohibition of infant-marriage, and the

¹ Some of us may find it difficult to imagine that it was strictly enforced at any time in history; but this is by no means proof that in fact it was not. It only goes to show that future generations may hesitate to believe that we could ever tolerate rules of conduct which, as a matter of fact, we zealously uphold.

stipulation that no minor may lawfully enter into matrimony without the consent of his or her parents or guardians, or, failing that, the permission of a magistrate. Further, the law attempts to secure the well-being of the illegitimate offspring of irresponsible and impecunious couples by granting to the bastard's mother the right to institute affiliation proceedings against the putative father or to give the child out in adoption to strangers. These remedies provide some means, however inadequate, of protecting the race in its most vulnerable and, at the same time, most vital part against the inroads of Individualism.

Yet what about bastardy itself? Is the uncertainty of paternity without consequence to the welfare of the race?¹

The family is a social unit based on the exclusive—if formally changeable—partnership of two spouses, within the bosom of which the members of the growing generation are born and partly brought up. Only through it can the blood relationships of individuals be ascertained, so that breeding

¹ The commandment forbidding the bastard to marry within the congregation of Israel (Deuteronomy, xxiii. 2) does, it is submitted, in no way stigmatize illegitimate offspring and is not, therefore, inconsistent with the injunction that children shall not suffer on account of their parents' misdeeds, but that every individual shall suffer for his own wrong (*Ibid.*, xxiv. 16). For it simply provides against the innocent contraction of incestuous and consanguineous unions, and ensures outbreeding by forcing the bastard to marry a stranger. See *Law and Life according to Hebrew Thought* (Oxford University Press), by Joseph Yahuda, pp.109-10.

may not take place between near kinsfolk to the disadvantage of the race. Whether promiscuity—that is, if it could be organized, especially with regard to age and general fitness—might result, by the thorough mixing and pooling of the communal blood and strength, to the benefit of the stock, is not known. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the existence side by side of quasi-exclusive marital relations and so-called free love, tends to enfeeble the stock in two ways: through inbreeding, as well as through the narrow prejudices and disturbing psychological complexes which domestic propinquity and companionship inevitably engender. It is just because they stultify the important family function of identifying parentage, and thereby tend to render nugatory the laws of incest and consanguinity, that the two kinds of Social Individualism, fornication and infidelity, are of the gravest concern to the community.¹ Hence the objection to rigid divorce laws and the wisdom of the A. P. Herbert Act.

4. There are yet two more species of blatant Individualism in connection with sex, viz. prostitution and perversions. In England prostitution may not be indulged in with impunity, but in some places abroad it is a lawful and lucrative vocation organized on a large scale and on business

¹ Kidnapping and abandoning infants, therefore, besides being anti-survival wrongs by reason of their anti-social character, are directly anti-racial wrongs of great gravity.

lines. As to unnatural practices, they are not punishable in certain countries; even here Sapphism is an innocent exercise in the eye of the law. Yet homosexuality, whether of the Lesbian or the Sodomite type, impairs the grafting function of sex and arrests its reproductive potentiality. Bestiality also produces effects similarly noxious in character, though different in extent. But besides being an anti-racial wrong, it exercises a subtle anti-social influence on the offender. Since the animal has practically no choice in the matter, the abominable crime falls within the category of forcible rape. Moreover, it makes the offender dispense with human companionship in the most intimate, most affectionate, and most social of relationships.¹

COMPETITION AND WASTE

The modern politico-economic system is sometimes criticized on account of our activities therein being governed by the rule of the exploitation of man by man. Yet all life consists of mutual exploitation: Do not a couple of lovers exploit each other? Does not a child exploit its mother? And the sick woman lying in bed, and the helpless invalid huddled in his chair,

¹ Undue attachment to pets yields, insidiously, an equally anti-social result. Nor are toys or amusement machines unmixed blessings; for they do not respond to human emotion and their reactions are either regular or erratic. In such circumstances human beings cannot be trained in mutual contact and consideration, the two vital essentials for the compromise of social life.

do they not exploit those who wait upon them and the community which caters for their needs and comfort? Surely, what matters is the method of exploitation and its object. Now it is said that profit is the motive of present-day exploitation. Profit, however, is only a species of compensation, and compensation of one kind or another is indispensable to life and an inherent element in the interplay of all forces. Important as the quantity and quality of reward are to the development of the race, the nature of the service, if any, for which reward is sought and obtained, and the conditions in which it is rendered, are also of great significance. Besides, are not the character of the desire for reward and the way in which this desire is carried out material considerations deserving of special attention? Indeed, what is primarily at fault is not the motive of profit; nor is it the idea of exploitation that is perverse; but the fact that there is a constant unwholesome friction between the members of the body politic: organizers *versus* organized, organizers and organized *versus* the community, organized *versus* organized, and organizers *versus* organizers.

The above typical instances show that the will and desire of the actual or nominal organizers are supreme in Economic Individualism. Of course it is commonly based on private property and usually aims at private profit, but it need not have such beginning or such end. Indeed, robbers may

conspire to carry on brigandage for the simple reason that they possess nothing, while perfectly honest people might desire quite disinterestedly to organize a lottery. Yet in fact robbery is a crude manifestation of Individualism, and lotteries are insidious agencies calculated to generate and excite individualistic tendencies.

It is evident, therefore, that under modern Economic Individualism the organizers are, within certain limits, veritable despots, conducting the organizations they respectively control primarily for their own benefit or satisfaction. They often may and sometimes do use their power capriciously and in a conflicting manner. In obedience to their interests individually and collectively, they league themselves together in all sorts of alliances, counter-alliances, and cross-alliances. This gives rise to wasteful competition or monopolistic control, which in turn affects the organized as to both employment and reward. Thus the organized, on their part, find it necessary to combine in sheer self-defence, and a systematic war ensues. The battalions are ranged, the battle is pitched, and the class struggle goes on openly or in the dark, intermittently or without respite, keeping society in a chronic state of anarchy and internal strife. Strikes and lock-outs are species of warfare and essentially anti-survival in character. Like armed clashes, they prove the bankruptcy of statesmanship, no matter what the immediate cause of a particular stoppage may be. On the

other hand, persistent unemployment, however small its percentage, indicates national and/or international mal-organization.

Moreover, the organization on a large scale of the art of advertising has led to the exploitation of inventive brains, primarily for the purpose of "pushing" this and that commodity, or of popularizing this service and the other, irrespective of the necessity or utility of such commodities and services. Young men and women are trained to exaggerate, to pervert their fertile imagination and to misuse their persuasive powers on behalf of individualistic undertakings and at the expense of the community. So much so that the blatant offences of advertising against aesthetics are as nothing compared with the subtle undermining influence it exerts on the intellect and physical health of the people. Its aim is not so much to inform as to make believe. Instead of its being a popular educating agency, its fallacious affirmations and nauseating repetitions are calculated to create, sustain, and stimulate prejudice in favour alike of noxious and useful goods and services, such active prejudice being perversely called "demand." Obviously, advertising is good for every trade, but there may be trades the prosperity of which spells ruin to the race. The public, fascinated, falls a prey under the mistaken belief of being a beneficiary. Indeed, excepting the illicit handling of a few commodities, such as dangerous drugs, most of those responsible for the

marketing of many goods and services which are in fact injurious to the stock, honestly believe themselves to be benefactors of mankind and are so regarded by the great majority of their fellow-men. The fact is, people tend to confuse apparent satisfaction with genuine benefit, and Economic Individualism fosters this confusion.¹

Competition (apart from the class struggle), therefore, arises out of two entirely different conflicts: one which exists between individuals or groups dealing in different kinds of goods and services, and the other between individuals or groups dealing in the same kind of commodity or service. It is therefore necessary, from time to time and in different regions, first to grade the priority of the various goods and services from the point of view of race-survival, and, secondly, to settle their respective qualities and quantities from the same standpoint. Then and only then should the national or international credit available be invoked to finance their supply in the order of precedence ascertained and to the extent defined by survival standards. What a colossal enterprise for experts of all kinds, including chiefly statesmen!

Colossal though it is, the Nazis have proved that it is not impracticable. But in their case the national scheme has been subordinated to a huge rearmament programme, instead of being founded on race-survival considerations. Thus

¹ See p. 5, above.

owing to the extraordinary quantities of raw material allotted to the armament industries, the equipment and rolling stock of the State railways have been neglected; with the result that, as compared with 1933, derailments doubled and collisions almost trebled in 1938, the number of the killed and injured increasing proportionately. The Nazi guiding motto was brazenly avowed by Dr. Joseph Goebbels when he said: "Guns are better than butter." Now many might do without butter, but none can live on guns. They are cumbersome junk when idle, and infernal engines in action. If through the bankruptcy of statesmanship inside and outside Germany, differences between nations are left to the decision of the guns, mankind—including Germany—will rue the day. For Germans and non-Germans will be equally acceptable cannon-fodder, as indeed they were in the Great War, which achieved the apotheosis of international gunnery.

When full statistics are available of the aggregate annual turnover of the occupations, if any, which are wholly or partly inimical to the survival of the race (allowance being made for the survival portion), and the total is divided by the average yearly wages of an ordinary clerk or workman, a more or less accurate idea will be formed of the colossal waste of man-power which nations suffer through misdirected employment. The real question from the point of view of race-survival is not: Does this commodity or that

service do any positive harm? But rather: Does it, on the whole, do any positive good? For if human energy is expended in activities which do not make for survival, the race is thereby handicapped, if not actually placed in jeopardy. The human race, especially at this critical stage of its existence, cannot afford any waste of efforts; that which is not for us is against us. In every case the fundamental test is whether the result, in terms of fitness, is commensurate with the effort exerted to attain it.

DISTRIBUTION OF ENERGY

This problem has a direct bearing on the quantity and hours of service rendered by those members of society who are engaged in race-survival work. For their number is reduced by the amount of man-power drafted for non-survival purposes, and their burden grows relatively heavier accordingly. They have to work harder and longer as the waste through this channel increases. Therefore it is of the utmost importance accurately to distinguish between genuine survival and non-survival goods and services, and to define the limit beyond which the use of a service or a commodity becomes inimical to race-survival.¹ For example, the manufacture of armaments, the building of fortifications, and the prolongation of conscription service have absorbed so great a proportion of labour in France, that, in order to

¹ Apparently on the same principle, ill-feeding, like over-feeding, taxes rather than reinforces the animal's energy.

keep up the rate of production of ordinary commodities, the workers have been asked not to insist on the strict application of the recently enacted forty-hour week law.

The efforts invested in the satisfaction of desires inconsistent with survival could be diverted to satisfying desires new and old, the fulfilment of which would ensure the survival of the race.¹ For instance, when on investigation it be found that the manufacture, importation, and distribution of strong drinks and tobacco have to be restricted within certain limits, some of the forces now engaged in these trades would be released. They could be partly saved for recuperative leisure and pleasure and partly employed in providing more suitable commodities the supply of which falls short of the people's needs, such as more and better milk, fruit, and vegetables. Again, instead of excessive dog-racing and horse-racing, if such activities be found wanting in part from the survival standpoint, more congenial and edifying recreations would be invented or more extensively indulged in, say, cruising and flying on an extensive scale for instructive and recreative purposes. It is time the fact was realized that nine-tenths of the inhabitants of this island (and the inhabitants of no country in the world are in a more favourable condition) who are taught and expected to love *their* country, are not acquainted with one-tenth of it!

¹ See *This Democracy*, pp. 11-13.

Amusements have an intrinsic survival value which may be lost through, and even exceeded by, the anti-survival character or tendency of the subject-matter of the amusement. Therefore it is meet that diversion, education, and health should overlap and interpenetrate. For this purpose it is not enough to estimate the amount which is spent on entertainment *per capita*, and to find out the percentage of expenditure under that head for the population, as a whole, in relation to the total national outlay. It must further be ascertained how and to what extent, on balance, each kind of pastime affects one way or the other the three survival attributes. The aim of statesmanship should be to approximate the individual's satisfaction to what is of real benefit to the race, so that the natural quest for pleasure would run closely parallel to the development of fitness. The wider the divergence between what pleases the individual or the mass and what benefits the race, the worse the state of degeneration and the more remote the likelihood of survival. Therefore, among other conclusions to be inferred from this argument, the following is of topical importance: If it is to redound to the benefit of society, the reduction of working hours must go hand in hand with the rationalization of our methods of using leisure.¹ The Nazi adage which comes nearest to this ideal is: "Strength through Joy." But it is to be observed that strength is narrower

¹ See the preamble of the Unlawful Games Act, 1541.

than health, which is itself but one aspect of fitness.

It is impossible permanently and universally to fix the schedules of precedence as to categories of needs and groups of recipients. These two schedules must vary periodically and regionally, according to circumstances as interpreted by capable and trustworthy statesmen, administrators, and a host of other experts, who will collaborate in defining the character and quantity of the respective commodities and services required, and whose decisions will not be swayed by considerations other than those of race survival. For example, in case of scarcity some of the interests of the young might, without undue harm, be postponed to the more urgent claims of the sick; or some of the needs of one section of the adult population would go unsatisfied, in order that those of another section, say, the pregnant women and nursing mothers, might be satisfied in full. The consequences of an earthquake or an epidemic would concentrate some of the communal or international energies in one area, while a new invention might draw some of them to a special industry.¹

¹ Under those conditions, the mathematics of national finance, as distinct from the administrative expenditure dealt with in modern budgets, would consist of sharing out the labour of the nation among the different activities of life. Each activity would absorb a certain proportion of the available effort, in accordance with a variable programme outlined from time to time by the Cabinet. Such a measure would be eminently suitable for discussion, alteration, and settlement in a Parliament of two Houses, one based on geographical and the other on vocational franchise. See *This Democracy*, pp. 61-6.

In all these transactions credit is bound to play an important role. Credit is an excellent device complementary to barter, both in the home market and in foreign trade; it ought to guarantee and facilitate the flow of trade, not to hamper its course in order to further the aims of unscrupulous manipulators. Credit should be used to promote schemes favourable to race-survival and not those which are harmful or useless to the race, so as to ensure the supply of goods and services of such quality and in such quantity as are required for the survival of the race at a given juncture and place. The ingenious conception of "credit" has enabled the banker to render invaluable services to mankind in three distinct directions—

1. He has facilitated the exchange of goods and services between individuals and nations.

2. He has contrived to store up the surplus energy of one generation and to place it at the disposal of the next, such stored-up effort being called capital.¹

3. He has taxed the abundant energies of the more advanced communities, and has used the tax for the advancement of backward societies and for the exploitation of virgin natural resources, such tax being capital known under the name of foreign loans and investments.

¹ Wealth consists of the resources, artificial (i.e. capital) and natural, at the disposal of the individual or the community. A woman's face may be all her fortune, and the untapped mineral deposits of a country constitute part of its wealth.

But the custody of so much accumulated power has naturally led to its abuse or misuse by irresponsible or ill-advised individuals and groups, whether in granting credit or withholding it, quite apart from questions of fraud and mismanagement. The accumulation and export of capital has been unduly stimulated, while the human stock has been undermined. Whereas the ancient rulers compulsorily exploited their subjects and slaves in order to erect vain monuments unto themselves, to-day free men and women are overworked and/or underpaid, with a view to creating and increasing credit balances for themselves and for others. These savings, moreover, have been invested in undertakings without reference to their survival value—with what disastrous results to the stock we shall endeavour to show.

UNAVAILING RESTRAINTS

Various devices have been resorted to everywhere with a view to controlling the individual and cutting down his economic power, the ultimate aim being to curtail the abuse of power and to protect him from it. We may mention, *inter alia*, the liability of immovables for the payment of debts, the grant of merely life-interests and the protective trust; testamentary restrictions, such as the rule against perpetuities, *légitime*, *terce*, and *jus relictæ*; the penal institution of the *conseil judiciaire*—modelled on the Roman *Cura Prodigii*

—to administer the property of a person adjudicated prodigal, the avoiding of contracts entered into by minors, the setting aside of unconscionable bargains made with reversioners, and the severe laws regulating money-lending. But these remedies have as often as not failed to protect the individuals, for whose benefit they were primarily devised, from the consequences of their own abuse or misuse of power; while not infrequently exposing others to it, who are mostly innocent. These remedies have not succeeded in eliminating abuse or misuse of power, since power has continued to be, and is still being, used improperly with disastrous results to society generally. The degree of prodigality, for instance, must be high indeed before the French law can effectively be invoked against the person guilty of it; just as the neglect of children by their parents or guardians must be very gross before our Authorities can intervene. Again, some life-estates are so vast, the use made of them is so arbitrary, that the fact that they are limited in point of time circumscribes but little the power of their respective tenants. Men and women have been known to mortgage their property to the point of foreclosure, in pursuit of their career of reckless extravagance and in satisfying their inordinate desires. Moreover, many a minor who knows that he does not possess the power of binding himself by contract has learned the vicious art of defrauding his creditors by concealing his status or by positively

misrepresenting his age. Finally, moneylenders have not ceased to extort exorbitant rates of interest; and the spirit of gambling has pervaded all classes, in spite of the betting laws, both criminal and civil.¹

The principle of Economic Individualism lies at the bottom of it all. Its baneful influence is by no means merely economic, or confined to this or that category of people: on the contrary, it is all-pervading.

The fundamental fault in the Individualistic System is far from being of such an insignificant character as to fall within the maxim: *De minimis non curat lex*. According to the most favourable interpretation of the facts, the evil amounts to this, that because of his fitness to exercise one kind of power in a certain direction, the individual is, albeit with comparatively few exceptions and inadequate limitations, at liberty to wield transcendental power in many directions. The result is as disastrous as when accident or epidemic illness causes death, simply because the victim happens to be vulnerable in a single aspect of health.² A person may excel in the supply and consumption of one or two commodities or services,

¹ According to the latest estimate of the Christian Social Council Committee on Gambling, the annual turnover in betting in this country amounts to between £350,000,000 and £500,000,000. Eloquent as these figures are by themselves, they do not tell the whole story. It is important to note in addition that many are driven to crime, or neglect their wives and children, through indulging in this demoralizing stimulus.

² See p. 95, below.

but none can be an expert consumer of all the available goods and services. Yet an expert supplier of some commodity or service—e.g. a common labourer, a craftsman, a singer, an inventor, an advocate, a merchant, or a manufacturer—acquires a reward therefor, which he, his nominees, and successors are permitted to use more or less freely. In other words, they are entitled to do with it what is right in their own eyes. True, in many cases this power is invested in survival values by reason of the training and knowledge of its custodians and their advisers. But are not the gap of ignorance, the lack of self-discipline, and the margin of bad advice (e.g. that tendered through advertisements) too important for the law to ignore? One of the most salient instances of the capricious use of power and of the precedence of satisfaction over benefit in our civilization is the existence of the perverse and anomalous right to destroy one's own property or to neglect it. This right is perverse, because property is the investment and source of human life. It is anomalous, because the mere attempt to destroy one's life—the most intimate of possessions—is a felony.

Hitherto we have adverted to the abuse of power within organized society; we shall now inquire into the circumstances of improper use of power in the state of Nature, and try to draw comparisons.

CHAPTER II

EVOLUTION AND ECONOMICS

NATURAL SELECTION

BIOLOGISTS tell us that the existing forms of life, in their infinite variety, are the result of the influence in the past of causes which may conveniently be classified here into two categories, namely, animate agencies and inanimate agencies. Life in any form is unremittingly in strife with other forms of life and with inanimate agencies. Some forms of life manage to adapt themselves more or less adequately to their new environment, animate and inanimate, or to changes in their old surroundings, during the lifetime of the individuals concerned. In the process of readjustment these individuals develop certain characteristics which enable them to continue the struggle with the same or with similar agencies, while other characteristics, useless in that struggle, gradually become atrophied. The offspring of these individuals inherit from their forbears a few of the enabling characteristics or variations acquired by the former generation, or a tendency to acquire them, and a few of the discarded ones. They now proceed to strengthen that part of their inborn equipment which they need, and to reinforce it with further enabling characteristics, while weakening and gradually eliminating the

useless part. Often, instead of an organ or limb being eliminated or atrophied and another developed to meet the new requirements, the same is adapted to new functions.¹ By a more or less steady process of addition, variation and elimination, stimulation and atrophy—full of remarkable complications, coincidences, and accidents—the species, in its generations, may, if allowed to survive, render itself more and more efficient for the struggle of readjustment (using the term in a wide sense) which brings it into practical harmony with its environment. So that every form of life is a product of the clash or contact between itself and/or its ancestors on one hand, and the above-mentioned operative agencies on the other. It is in fact essentially the result of a compromise. Whenever accommodating terms are not made, whenever a *modus vivendi* is not reached—whatever may be the reason for such failure—one form of life at least (or its representative at the critical locality) must needs be destroyed. This is the law of Natural Selection.

How far this law prevails in our politico-economic system, the following parallels will show.

PARALLEL I

If we ignore the inanimate agencies and confine ourselves to the inter-action between animate

¹ That is how man's ancestors turned their forelimbs to such good account, and the elephant has evolved a prehensile proboscis.

agencies, from microbes to mammoths, we find that the struggle for adaptation is waged on two fronts; within the same species and between different species. Some conditions may favour one set of individuals belonging to a certain species, others another set of individuals, while the remainder of the race die of exposure. On the other hand, certain circumstances favour one species, others another, while a third species may find no shelter and become extinct. In such a precarious situation all the neighbourhood is perpetually on the *qui vive*, and in times of emergency it is *saute qui peut*! Those species or individuals in the same species which one condition or another has favoured, escape; whereas the others, the non-favoured, succumb. Of the ones who survive, some emerge well-adapted (not necessarily fitter) and continue the race for a longer or shorter period, others are not well-adapted (not necessarily unfit) and, being comparatively non-favoured, mostly perish in due course. Thus immediate and personal advantages are very often sought and secured for the purpose of merely momentary and individual adaptation. Meanwhile, individualistic self-selection—the source of all abuse of power—goes on developing psychologically in direct proportion as virtue is stunted; while the body does not necessarily become better equipped for the ultimate survival of the race. Now as strife never ceases, and as crisis follows crisis, more energy is expended than

is or could be regained, more and more energy is invested in the development of anti-survival attributes, species after species degenerates and/or diminishes in numbers, so that in the fullness of time they become extinct.

This biological phenomenon is reproduced in our economic life, for we have seen¹ that competition is of two kinds: one between groups or individuals dealing in different goods and services, and the other between individuals or groups dealing in the same commodity or service. In the first kind of competition various commodities and services vie with one another for the favour of the public. The public bestows its patronage freely on this one, extends it half-heartedly to that, while withdrawing it completely from a third—which goes out of fashion, though it be not useless or even less beneficial than the fashionable article of the time. In the second kind of competition the same commodity or service is produced or offered by divers persons or groups. Some customers prefer it as made or distributed by this firm, others as manufactured or sold by that person, whereas a third “make” may lose all “demand” and become obsolete. Those engaged in its exploitation are left to fend for themselves as best they can in the midst of the economic blizzard which smites their particular industry, some of them sharing the fate of that industry. Again, some people avail themselves of a certain service as

¹ See p. 28, above.

rendered by one company or member of a profession, while others accept it from another. The successful persons in these commercial or professional transactions are not necessarily the fittest. In any event, owing to the prevalence of Economic and Social Individualism, selfishness spreads and intensifies, and the amount of patronage which goods, services, and people attract is not proportionate to their survival value or merit. This spells ruin to the race, since anti-survival factors are encouraged thereby at the expense of survival factors.

PARALLEL II

In order to appreciate the up-and-down movement of Evolution, Natural Selection should first be resolved into its elements, and their respective effects ought then to be examined separately. Natural Selection is not a simple factor, but a composite agent made up of Individualism and Stewardship. In the state of Nature the struggle for adaptation is not altogether relentless. Individualistic self-selection is abated by the exercise of fiduciary self-selection through the agency of sex, parental solicitude and the fear of common danger.¹

Besides these, there are other fiduciary self-selective factors in human society which mitigate the ruthlessness of Economic and Social Individualism, namely : religious and ethical principles

¹ See pp. 154-5, below.

and common sympathies, such as a common religion, a common culture, a common citizenship and common political ideals. It is absolutely impossible, even if it were desirable, to eliminate completely and permanently the primary and universal instinct of self-selection. But it is quite feasible, indeed imperative, to control, mould, and modify it more or less adequately through the systematic application of the principles of Responsibility and Equality, which are the two mainstays of Stewardship.¹ Through Stewardship the self is projected from the individual on to others, e.g. from one mate on to the other, from the mother on to her child, from the statesman on to his people, from the scientist on to mankind. In this way self-selection acquires a wider application and a fiduciary significance. Real altruism is merely the social aspect of egoism. The most unselfish act or forbearance is rooted in selfishness, it being prompted by a natural desire the non-requital of which would give rise to regret or to painful remorse. And if the principle of Stewardship be wisely and virtuously applied in a community, so-called unselfish conduct would have more direct and more immediate selfish value on the one hand and, on the other, the individual would, in the long run, come to realize the ultimate selfish value of unselfish conduct.

¹ For in the absence of Responsibility, trust is betrayed; and without Equality, public control is impaired. See pp. 136-42, below.

PARALLEL III

If we call life-force that agency through which inorganic power is converted into organic power (whether the life-stream flows upward or downward—or remains simply stationary—in the biological course), then we may say that Natural Selection uses this force in a short-sighted and wasteful manner. It does not discern between what is good and what is evil from the survival standpoint, and is concerned with neither, being fundamentally opportunistic in its outlook and apparently unbridled in its conduct. It automatically takes the shortest cut to adaptation, no matter whether adaptation is achieved through an evolutionarily retrogressive or progressive step, its policy—if it might be called that—being penny-wise and pound-foolish in biological currency. The various species of the ant illustrate the waste of biological forces through Natural Selection. Of course, there must be perfectly good reasons why the Legionaries are blind and divided into soldiers and non-combatants; also why some ants are comparatively large and others small, some pigmented and others white, some winged and others wingless, some with sizable brain and others with reduced brain. But the fundamental fact remains that all these and other experiments of the life-force have failed, since innumerable species have become extinct and it is admitted that

no member of the formic family is capable of higher development.¹

A similarly anarchic and amoral process takes place in our soulless economic machine. Labour is indiscriminately, often unconsciously, invested in anti-survival as well as survival activities, according to purposeless individualistic tendencies and race-suicidal desires.

PARALLEL IV

Natural Selection moulds and remoulds instinct, builds and breaks up race-tradition, according to what is temporarily expedient and not necessarily of ultimate advantage to the race. So that when these two standards—what is temporarily expedient and what is ultimately advantageous—coincide, the race improves, otherwise it degenerates. The laborious accumulation of biological characteristics and the ponderous enlargement of anatomical tools are not in themselves a blessing. Far from improving the race and rendering it more capable of improvement or survival, they may detract from its plasticity and may positively encumber it and handicap its biological progress. Certain cumbersome organs may be very ingenious, certain characteristics may be very attractive, yet they may have developed instead of or at the expense of more desirable ones from the point of

¹ It must be noted, however, that some species have perished or degenerated on account of the adverse influence of purely inanimate agencies.

view of race-survival.¹ They may be described as relatively anti-survival organs and characteristics. Therefore, if no discerning agent supervenes, the survival of the species, according to Natural Selection, is purely fortuitous, some species being of a lower, others of a higher type, than those they have respectively and severally supplanted or replaced.

Race-survival implies adaptation, but not every adaptation conduces to progressive and permanent survival. It may happen, in fact, that at a certain moment of its evolutionary history a given species can adapt itself only in one way to its environment, owing to inadequate knowledge whereby to find an alternative, or to the suddenness of the change in the environment. If that way is the one which might have been chosen by the survival agency, as distinct from Natural Selection, there is a happy coincidence. But if that way is not the right one from the survival standpoint, then Natural Selection prevails and the survival agency must await a favourable opportunity to correct the unavoidable specialization adopted by, or rather forced upon, the species for the sake of temporary survival. Yet unless this corrective is applied in time, other racially retrogressive deviations are bound to follow during the new transitory period of the species'

¹ The beautiful plumage of the peacock and the massive feathers of the ostrich have evolved and are maintained at the expense of the mental power of these birds.

development, and the situation might become too complicated and deteriorate beyond redemption. Accordingly, the more a species is able to control its environment and attune it to race-survival needs and desires, the greater the chances of its survival. *Per contra*, the less a species is capable of such control, the more it is at the mercy of its environment which dictates to it needs, or induces it to conceive desires, which are inimical to the interests of the race.

The survival principles (Stewardship, Responsibility, and Equality), as distinct from Natural Selection, though components thereof, are essentially disciplinary and discriminating. They tend to maintain and improve organic power and guide the life-force upward in the biological course. Their agency is far sighted and statesmanlike in behaviour, resulting as it does from a more or less awakened and critical consciousness. Like Natural Selection, it, too, may re-mould instincts and re-form race-traditions; but unlike Natural Selection, it tends to eliminate force and fraud from inter-human relations. Its actions are controlled by eternal considerations and involve a great economy in biological, physiological, physical and psychological energy.

Here again we find a striking similarity between biological and modern economic processes. The multiplicity and variety of our institutions, systems, and devices in finance, trade, industry, politics, and defence, are monuments of human

ingenuity. Let us instance the Stock Exchange, with its sensitiveness to fleeting rumours, its spontaneous barometric reaction to events, its automatically varying quotations, indicative of the state of the investment market from day to day and from hour to hour. It undoubtedly helps us to readjust our relations to one another in an individualistic environment. Another example of human resourcefulness is the network of Insurance, with its world-wide organization, its complicated actuarial foundations, and the endless variety of its policies. It brings a measure of security to a society distracted by instability. Yet another is military organization. Most Fighting Forces are models of efficiency. They are recruited, trained and equipped for protection, and held in readiness to defend against attack and to strike at the potential enemy. Their maintenance is necessary so long as national and class ambitions conflict or appear to be inconsistent. Lastly, the Trade Union movement is a triumph of industrial constitutional architecture. The function of trade unions and councils and of masters' associations is to defend the rights of the employed and those of the employers, respectively, in an economic system where some of the workers possess no proprietary interest and take no managerial part in the undertakings in which they are employed. These extra-Constitutionally accredited bodies thrive side by side with the local and national governmental institutions, and indeed

form an integral part of the government of the country.

But we should not stand in complacent admiration before these and other products of the human mind, and treat them as sacrosanct and final. We ought to inquire diligently and dispassionately whether they, in fact, form an ideal economic equipment for the furtherance of the survival and improvement of the race, or are mere evidence of Natural Selection in the economic sphere. They may be variations resulting from misplaced intelligence and misapplied energy, which might be modified to suit survival purposes. We may have had to resort to them in the past for lack of certain factors which have since come into being, or because of the existence of others which have since disappeared. The power at our disposal to-day and in the future may enable us to do away with these politico-economic variations, or merely to change their respective functions, so as to alter our course towards—or more directly towards—race-survival. Take, for instance, war—the most glaring example of improper use of power by the community as a body. It results from the failure of statesmanship, and its postponement gives an opportunity to statesmen to prevent it altogether. And this is the fundamental difference between militarism and statesmanship: if the devotees of the former all the world over agreed, war would be abolished and soldiers would become obsolete; whereas if the disciples of the

latter agreed, statecraft would be upheld and statesmen would grow from strength to strength. Warriors, *as such*, are agents of destruction; their expert services are needed for demolition; they are of no use when circumstances require repair or construction. Has the time not come yet to dispense with their gruesome services?

PARALLEL V

If the attack upon a certain species is too sudden to parry or too severe to withstand, its members succumb and, swiftly or slowly, are wiped out in utter helplessness. On the other hand, if they get a chance of defending themselves, either by repulsing the attack or by adapting themselves to their novel surroundings, they survive. The life-force supplies them with new personal and heritable apparatus more or less adequate. Yet the more restricted the association, the smaller the number of co-operators and the less satisfactory the communal or organizational equipment. Other things being equal, e.g. adequate knowledge, the corporal apparatus for attack and defence of the individual develops as the efficiency of the collective arrangement for security deteriorates. Such a state of affairs procures the emergence of relatively anti-survival organs and characteristics and results in a definite setback to biological progress. The waste it entails in animal energy is double: First, forces are withdrawn from the purpose of co-operation; secondly,

the same forces are canalized in the direction of conflict. In fact, the need for personal equipment of relatively anti-survival character is in inverse ratio to the quality and extent of the social equipment.

This personal equipment is of two kinds, namely, mental and physical. Owing to the absence of or defect in communal organization, the individual may be continually driven to fraud or open aggression, until his mentality becomes weak or distorted, and his body frail or awkward. Instead of conceiving and developing ideas of friendship and construction, he would tend to intrigue, hatred, and low cunning, repeatedly repressing such generous feelings and considerate thoughts as he may from time to time entertain. Individualistic self-selective tendencies develop at the expense of virtuous and fiduciary self-selective ones. This state of mind is characterized by psychological disturbances and obsessions which hamper the individual in his attempt to cope with the difficulties besetting him. Thus intelligence is handicapped and perverted, and the stock consequently incurs excessive loss and declines. On the other hand, the bodily strength necessary to meet the recurrent or constant difficulties may be achieved at the expense of intelligence. The brain gradually weakens and shrinks to insignificance, or remains small while the rest of the body develops disproportionately thereto. In either case the index of cephalization is reduced. Now the smaller or weaker the brain becomes in relation

to the rest of the body, the greater is the need for strong bodily weapons of attack and defence, because the paucity or low quality of intelligent or cunning devices has to be made up with brute force. Furthermore, the more formidable these weapons grow, the less powerful the brain becomes: they draw and drain towards themselves the resources and supplies of the body. This is the vicious circle of degeneration. Henceforth, intellectual faculties are exercised more and more rarely and with less and less success, misunderstandings arise at frequent intervals, and sympathy diminishes to vanishing point. Now, as the habit of violent opposition grows, it is no longer confined to conflicts between individuals of different species or strangers of the same species. The virtues of forbearance and compromise are gradually weakened and finally lost, and violence is passionately resorted to at the least provocation, which renders the recurrence of dire conflict inevitable, till the race is doomed.

Thus in the absence of Stewardship and its concomitants, Equality and Responsibility, however elementarily understood and primitively practised, individualistic self-selection, or unenlightened selfishness, gets the upper hand and leads to other vices and abuse of power. This in its turn leads to quarrels, suffering, death, destruction, and extinction. As an example of some such chain of events we may cite the pachyderms. These animals have directed their forces to

building themselves portable arsenals : armour-like hides and massive horns or tusks which, however, will not save them from extinction. True, the elephants still live in large herds, and their intelligence is remarkable. The individual leaders of a herd of elephants still use their skill and prowess on behalf of their followers ; but owing to the fact that responsibility on one side and discipline on the other are ill-defined and clumsily enforced, abuses are inevitable. The rhinoceros, however, is thoroughly bad tempered and lives in sullen isolation. Left to their own devices, these and other species are, like the dinosaurs of yore, bound to perish from under the sun. Their powers, physiological, mental, and physical, would be constantly misused and abused with deadly consequences. Since they have grooved themselves in this screw-shaped spiral, their downward march is gathering momentum and speed as time goes on.¹

Strangely enough, what has happened to these pachyderms individually is taking place with us communally. Individual selfishness and aggressiveness have developed into and produced national aggressiveness and national selfishness, which express themselves acutely in war. We witness in our time the process of developing man's

¹ Similar considerations apply to other heavily armed and protected animals, such as whales and porcupines. But whereas the whale's protective equipment seems to have developed entirely as a reaction to adverse inanimate agencies in its environment, the horns of the rhinoceros and the spines of the porcupine indicate a struggle with animate agencies.

(extra-corporal) weapons of attack and defence at the expense of his virtue, intelligence, and health. France, for instance, has fortified and manned her German frontiers by the exertion of huge efforts which might have been put forth in the way of education and hygiene. We on these shores are being *forced* to build more ships, submarines, aircraft, and tanks. It is estimated that the world will spend £4000,000,000 for war material and armed forces in 1938.¹ So that instead of working in the direction of survival, order, happiness, and race-improvement, human society is sliding on the slope of degeneration, chaos, misery, and extinction. Historically, we may be back in the conditions of 1914 when, as the late Sir Austen Chamberlain so aptly put it—

The actors were in the grip of forces stronger than themselves, whirled round and downward like frail craft caught in the maelstrom of inexorable fate.²

In contrast with the pachyderms, we may instance the ant—a social insect which

¹ Article VIII of the Covenant of the League of Nations contemplates a universal reduction in armaments. From the survival standpoint, the difference between preparation for war and war itself is that the former does not affect reproduction adversely, while the latter does by decimating the youth of the belligerent communities. Both, however, occasion the loss of life and beget vice. Indeed, a factory of any non-survival goods, e.g. armaments, or an organization purveying non-survival services, however innocuous it may appear, whether nationalized or in private hands, may be more wasteful of life than war. For the efforts of all those engaged in it are utterly wasted, and the product of their labour would cause further waste. Mussolini's "armed peace" might, therefore, be as ruinous to the race as actual war.

² *Politics from Inside*, p. 599.

exhibits diverse characteristics bearing a striking resemblance to human organizations and activities. There are hunters (the legionaries) and peasants (the harvesters) among ants; some ants domesticate other insects (plant lice), others grow certain fungi. Indeed, the ants have carried their social structure to a much higher degree than man: they have a common nest, a common granary, a common kitchen-garden. Why, then, has the progress of the ant been arrested? The answer is this: The ant has substantially disregarded the three eternal and universal survival principles. The ants are organized in castes and keep slaves. Real war in pitched battle takes place between colonies of slave-makers and so-called slave-species, between slave-makers themselves, and even between colonies of the same species. Some ants depend entirely on the service of their slaves, so that when they are neglected by the latter they perish wholesale. Furthermore, the solicitude of worker-ants for their guests (beetles) is purely selfish and apt to be perverse. Having regard to so much improper use of power, the wonder is that the ant exists at all. Indeed, it seems that, but for its puny size and widespread colonization, its species would have probably long been extinct.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

So far our investigation shows: First, that the organization of modern society favours the abuse of power and hampers the development of man.

Secondly, that inter-human relations ought to be founded on the principle of Stewardship, because it alone guarantees—as far as is humanly possible—the survival of the race.

There is a further inference to be deduced, which is of vital politico-economic value, namely, that neither the object nor the method of co-operation ought to be of such a nature as to hamper the full development of the individual. Independent action has its snags, but so has co-operation. There is no magic in this word “co-operation”; there is nothing in a name—there is no intrinsic virtue in what “co-operation” connotes. The character of either the aim or the means of collective action can only be ignored at the expense of the race. If both the aim and the means are of a pro-survival nature, other things being equal (e.g. adequate knowledge and favourable inanimate surroundings), the benefit will multiply proportionately to the number of co-operators. On the other hand, the damage is bound to grow as the co-operators increase, if either the aim or the means of co-operation is of an anti-survival character. The lesson to be learnt is this, is it not, that an individual's effort must be consistent with that of other individuals and also with the effort of the collectivity; the effort of one society must be consistent with that of other societies and in harmony with the surrounding inanimate agencies—always in accordance with principles and requisites of race-survival.

There is yet another moral to be drawn from these biological processes. It is this: characteristics are not shed or acquired by the performance of surgical operations. We have not become tailless by means of systematic excision; nor have we enlarged our brain by dint of regular inoculations. It is by the conduct of the organism as a whole—its action upon and reaction to its surroundings—that biological changes are brought about. Let us not then scrap our social heritage summarily, in the hope of establishing an ideal society on the wreckage. Rather let us try to convert it into a new commonwealth by modifying the existing political, economic, and social surroundings according to principles of race-preservation and race-progress.

This much is clear, that mutation is inevitable. Indeed, if we tried to maintain the *status quo* of our natural and/or artificial environments, we would change in the attempt. The choice before man, therefore, is not mutability or immutability; but between a change for the better and a change for the worse. Hence the necessity for man—if he wishes to survive—to be able to control his own evolution. Whether he is capable or desirous of attaining the end and taking the means to it, may be a matter of opinion; but there can be no dispute as to the result of his indecision in this regard. The most urgent and vital question is: Are we going to continue to play like mere puppets in the drama of Evolution?

Lastly, in examining institutions and customs, we ought to bear constantly in mind that we do not intend to stay, even if we could, on the rung of the evolutionary ladder on which we stand at present, but to climb higher and higher. People who know or genuinely believe that their ancestors changed their forms and rid themselves of certain organs, can easily imagine their descendants doing the same. They would discard pet habits and customs without compunction, in the light of our increasing knowledge. For if man be an angel fallen from grace, then he is in duty bound to strive to revert to his original superior status. And if indeed he is but a glorified ape, then there is no reason why, having achieved so much, he should not, by properly using the vast fund of experience at his disposal, peer into the future and become like "gods, knowing good and evil."

Humanity in its present form is the result of a compromise between the forces of individualistic self-selection on the one hand, and the influence of Stewardship, Responsibility and Equality on the other. No wonder, then, that modern man is so imperfect—a creature of disease, asymmetry, psychological conflict, and vice. Yet when one attempts to imagine the æons which separate him from the amœba, the infinite opportunities which must have occurred for the life-force to move in the direction of decline and extinction rather than in that of stock-improvement—and one finds that in spite of the immeasurable distance covered by

our ancestors, and the innumerable obstacles strewn across their path on the pilgrimage of life, man has at last arrived—one comes upon the startling conclusion that it is far easier to believe in the specific and spontaneous creation of our kind than to grasp this stupendous scientific epic. Further, when one contemplates the infinite number of heroic attempts which must have been made by the forces of survival to achieve the human species, the advances, the retreats, and the renewed advances, until in the end they succeeded; one may well find heart to hope that further improvement of the stock will take place, and that the rationalization of our evolution—through the rationalization of our institutions, laws, customs, desires, and habits—will ultimately be worked out towards a progressive and higher destiny, despite the frustrations which at present beset mankind on all sides.

We have demonstrated that Individualism—both the economic and the social brands thereof—occasions and facilitates the improper use of power. Further, we have discovered certain important parallels between biological and economic phenomena. We shall now discuss a few processes which take place within the framework of society, as at present constituted, the operation of which establishes a definite and intimate relation between the discretionary exercise of economic power and the biological development of the race.

CHAPTER III

THE SURVIVAL OF THE UNFIT

THE QUADRIPARTITE PATTERN

HITHERTO society has been conceived as being made up simply of two classes, the Favoured and the Non-favoured. Actually, however, it is further split up into two Sections, the Fit and the Non-fit. These horizontal and vertical divisions form four unequal groups which shade off imperceptibly into one another, that is to say: the Favoured Fit, the Favoured Non-fit, the Non-favoured Fit, and the Non-favoured Non-fit.¹ How this Quadripartite Pattern has come about, it is not necessary to discover in order to investigate the actions and reactions on one another of these four substantially distinct groups. Suffice it to observe its existence and to take into account the opportunities for abuse or misuse of power which our economic system offers.

Experts might ascertain, by means of carefully compiled statistics, the approximate ratios of these groups *inter se*, and the proportion each one of them bears to a given community as a whole. But this would not be an easy task to accomplish, seeing that there hardly exists one person entirely

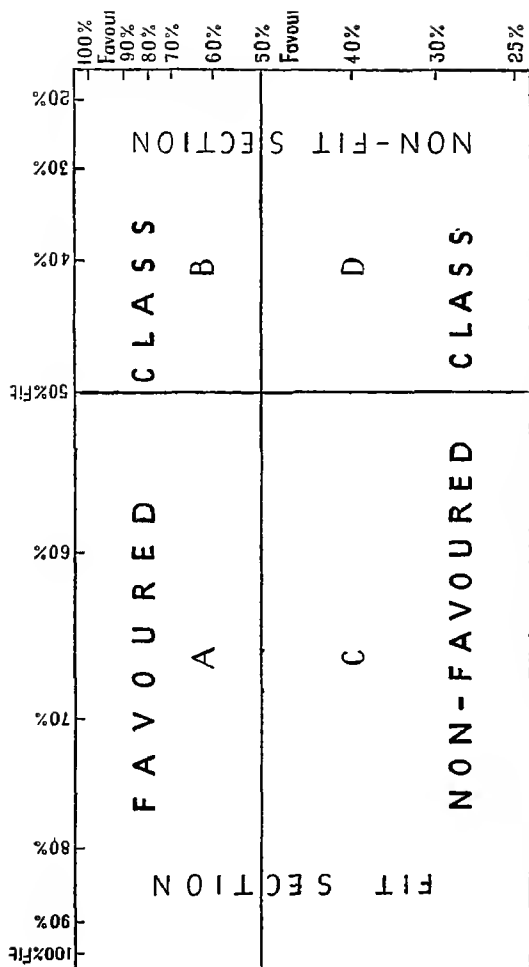
¹ See diagram on p. 63.

“fit” or “unfit,” “favoured” or “unfavoured”—except in theory—and that the four groups are mutable. The recurrent and ubiquitous phenomenon of individuals exchanging destitution for comfort, good health for bad, and vice versa, shows that there goes on a constant migration from one group to another within the same society.¹ For our own part, however, we shall confine our efforts to analysing this inter-group migration, in the hope of finding out the reasons for its occurrence and of defining the rules, if any, of its orientation; also the qualities these migratory movements may breed and foster; and finally, whether the trend of this whole complex process is towards fitness or otherwise.

THE FAVOURED FIT

The Favoured Fit are more or less abundantly provided with means wherewith to satisfy their wishes. They may and do thus encourage science and art and promote physical and mental culture, which is the essence of virtue. Yet their privileged position, occasioned as it is no less by their own

¹ This type of social structure is unique; there is nothing exactly like it outside mankind. The four groups are not less distinct one from another because the borders between them are blurred and their respective memberships fluctuate. The phenomenon of twilight does not affect the diametrical opposition of night and day. The clouds above, the sea below, and a misty solution in between, offer another illustration. Finally, two vessels containing, A, fresh water, and B, salt water, may be intercommunicating—one tube conveying steam from B to A, while through another water flows from A to B; yet fresh and salt water differ for all that.



The Quadripartite Pattern

A - The Favoured Fit
 B - The Favoured Non-fit
 C - The Non-favoured Fit
 D - The Non-favoured Non-fit

competency than by the straitened circumstances of some of the Non-favoured Fit, spells a triple danger to the community—

1. First, the absence of an adequate external deterrent to many of their fleeting fancies and deeply laid desires tends to weaken their self-restraint. Accordingly, through over-indulgence, some of them gradually pass into the group of the Favoured Non-fit, dragging others out of the group of the Non-favoured Fit into that of the Non-favoured Non-fit. This arbitrary discretion which the Favoured exercise begets in them lust, arrogance and corruption, and occasions in the Non-favoured submissiveness and physical deterioration; whereas the rivalries that result therefrom excite feelings of jealousy and envy everywhere.

2. Again, the Favoured Fit are at liberty to divert their own mental and physical energies, along with those of some of the Non-favoured Fit, into channels which, considered from the point of view of race-survival, are largely wasteful. This opportunity, of which the Favoured avail themselves regularly, is one of the sources of vanity and snobbishness, since certain activities become associated with the "smart set." Let us mention, for instance, racing and night-clubs. Many of the grooms, keepers, attendants, and other persons concerned, lead fruitless lives and are a positive burden on the community—from the race-survival standpoint, though not from the purely

THE SURVIVAL OF THE UNFIT

economic angle. Surely, there are ways of fully enjoying the amenities of town and country which possess real survival value. Racing is no doubt of definite survival value from the aspects of breeding, sport and entertainment; yet if indulged in excessively, the national economy will suffer thereby, and the survival gain will be more than counter-balanced by the loss in communal effort to attain it. It is estimated that in this country it accounts for a sum ranging between £200,000,000 and £400,000,000 a year.

3. Lastly, the Favoured Fit, individually and as a group, are chary in sharing their privileges with the Non-favoured Fit of equal or even superior merit, and withhold every concession they can help making to them—

Soldiers are not very eager to promote brilliant subordinates who may, if successful, dim their lustre.¹

And what is true of high military officers is also true of most of the Favoured Fit, indeed of most people in this acquisitive atmosphere, irrespective of the group to which they may belong. Meanwhile, some of the Non-favoured Fit of undoubted merit are artificially debarred and divorced from positions in which they would have rendered services of such quality as the community can ill afford to spare. This conflict stimulates greed and envy and produces a great deal of false pride and bitter frustration.

¹ *War Memoirs*, by David Lloyd-George.

THE FAVOURED NON-FIT

As to this group, there is no reason why self-discipline should prevail in it more than among the Favoured Fit, or why the tastes of some of its members should tend less towards parasitic or wasteful objects. At any rate, their jealousy of their privileges is often in direct ratio to their incompetence. Yet through the ample means at their disposal, they may summon the best services of art and science in order to gain admission into the group of the Favoured Fit or, if the process of transference has been long and costly, into the group of the Non-favoured Fit. This transfer is a distinct accretion to the community's strength; but apart from the price it costs in human effort, such reinforcement is almost neutralized by the fact that in those cases where the treatment is not so successful as to effect an irrevocable transfer into the Section of the Fit, it is just sufficient to enable many of its subjects to maintain and propagate themselves. True it is that not all the Favoured Non-fit are entirely undesirable, nor all their descendants altogether unfit; yet their stock would develop rather on the weak side. Therefore, while the Favoured Fit lose some members to the Favoured Non-fit, they receive into their midst a number of reclaimed Favoured Non-fit. It is for statisticians to settle approximately the rates of the exchange between the two groups of the Favoured Class. *Prima facie*, however, there is

reason to apprehend that on the whole the balance is in favour of deterioration.¹

THE NON-FAVoured NON-FIT

The members of this group are mostly maintained and multiplied under such conditions as tend to undermine in them all sense of civic responsibility and to prejudice unduly the Non-favoured Fit. While some are propped up by public or private charity, administered in one form or another, others manage to eke out a livelihood by competing with the Non-favoured Fit in light and casual employment, not uncommon in this mechanical age.² Thus some comparatively non-fit members of the community exercise their privilege of employment and obtain reward for it, while about an equal number of comparatively fit members are denied that privilege and the corresponding sustaining reward, which tends to make them also non-fit through want and forced idleness.

Yet if its hampering effect is to be minimized, the part of the ordinary burden which an individual is not capable of bearing should not fall on himself or entirely on another individual. It should, whenever possible, be spread over the community as a whole. Therefore society ought to be organized in such a way that the Fit as a Section may contribute to the upkeep and improvement of the Non-fit, including the aged, without unduly

¹ See p. 68, below.

² Observe the effects of the Workmen's Compensation Act.

prejudicing their own interests as a Section, or entirely sacrificing the interests of some of their members. In this way the Non-fit would be gradually and completely redeemed or eliminated within a few generations—excepting, of course, the aged.

A relatively few exchanges take place between the Favoured Non-fit and the Non-favoured Non-fit, according to the turn of the wheel of fortune. But such is the pressure over the Favoured Non-fit, especially through increase in numbers without a corresponding increase in means, that their group yields to the Non-favoured Non-fit more than it receives from them. In any case, the currents between the two groups of the Non-fit Section are not material to our inquiry, though we might point out in passing that the march from the Favoured Non-fit to the Non-favoured Non-fit may be due in part to the flow from the Favoured Fit to the Favoured Non-fit being in excess of the percolation in the opposite direction, i.e. from the Favoured Non-fit to the Favoured Fit.

Of course, some of the Non-favoured Non-fit are redeemed and transferred to the Non-favoured Fit. Here again it is important to discover the approximate ratio of this give-and-take in a given community; but there can be no doubt as to the irresistible progress of deterioration in this exchange. For one thing, no sooner do some of the Non-favoured Non-fit enter the other group of the

Non-favoured Class than they are likely, under the pressure of the onerous conditions prevailing there, to be thrown back whence they came. Very few of them secure a permanent footing in the Non-favoured Fit group, and even when they do their offspring are easily vulnerable.

THE NON-FAVOURLED FIT

Broadly speaking, the members of this group bear the largest part of the community's burden and get relatively least in return. Work and worry, inadequacy of the necessary supplies in quantity and quality, constantly drain some of them out into the other group of the Non-favoured Class, where worse circumstances await and befall them. Moreover, they are no more immune from destructive and wasteful proclivities than the Favoured Fit. The difference may be only in the motive and the cost. Whereas in the one case the temptation arises out of abundance and may be controlled by education, and the practice is financially dear; in the other the motive is sometimes want, which may be reinforced by ignorance, and the monetary price is cheap. The Industrial Revolution has greatly increased the opportunities for destruction and waste which are available to the Non-favoured Fit, in two ways:

First, through the mass production of all sorts of articles, including noxious commodities. Thus there is no limit to the manufacture and distribution of drugs, cigarettes, alcoholic drinks, and

arms. This is of great importance; for inasmuch as damage consequent upon improper use of power among the Favoured Fit springs out of wanton abundance, such improper use must needs play havoc with the Non-favoured Fit also, now that all sorts of products are within the reach of the leanest purse. Indeed, the Non-favoured Fit are being drained by self-indulgence, as well as used up by overwork and such inadequately protected work as results in occupational diseases and accidents.

Second, through the enormous accession of mechanical power. In the past the contemplation of hard or skilful work had a sobering effect on workmen and artisans, just as the process of work had an edifying and, at times, an invigorating result. Nowadays, however, a large proportion of work has been reduced to mere routine, and is carried out vicariously by machinery driven by steam, oil, or electricity. This leaves the average workman without that former deterrent or labour-tonic which sometimes improved the mental make-up or physical build of his predecessor. Compare, for instance, the peasant of pre-tractor days, working in the quietude and pure air of the country-side, with the modern agricultural labourer in charge of a noisy, petrol-smelling machine, smoking tobacco as he works. Contrast also the old shoemaker with the ordinary modern shoe-factory workman: the one is a mere robot, while the other was a skilled craftsman.

Instead of devoting the reserve of human energy, allowed to accumulate within them through the use of machinery, to the further development of mind and body—which would accrue to the biological improvement of the race—men and women fritter away that new surplus in excesses and in the use of sedatives and irritants of various kinds. This alternate resorting to stimulants and soporifics is most unsettling and burdensome to the human frame, and is partly responsible for the weakness of its resistance to disease and for the dwindling of its recuperative forces. Indeed, far from its being biologically capitalized, our new surplus energy seems to be actually used to sap the vitality of the stock.

Again, the use of machinery in agriculture is preventing the labourer from exercising his body in most congenial surroundings; while modern office paraphernalia, such as the duplicator, the cash register, and the mathematical machine, are turning human beings into automatons. Our ancestors used their brain and brawn, nowadays people use the machine with its deafening din and nerve-shattering speed. It is not suggested that mechanical devices should be scrapped; nor is a "return to Nature" advocated. It is merely intended to show that our organization and mode of living are maladjusted to the novel circumstances brought about by our own inventions.

The effective loss in vitality does not immediately show up on account of modern stop-gap

medical remedies, and also owing to the more efficient protection available nowadays against the vagaries of the weather. It is submitted, nevertheless, that the vitality of the people is being slowly and imperceptibly undermined. For the working classes, sport is generally confined to watching games and races; to ride, run, row, swim, and play would be too much of an exertion for the average miner and factory-hand. Clerks—the so-called black-coated workers—may saturate their bodies with deleterious drink and smoke, so that many of them are hardly capable of walking two or three miles, or using the spade for ten minutes, without getting out of breath. Yet they do not realize the dangerous effects of bad diet, as their only occupation is to write entries in ledgers and to climb up and down a short flight of stairs every now and again—which is not very exacting. Seeing that they are not exposed to the attacks of the weather, that they wear good clothes and receive comparatively good pay, they ought to be strong and healthy; but as often as not they are none too robust.

The change from status (e.g. slavery and serfdom) to contract among the Non-favoured has wrought a tremendous improvement in their lot. Yet contractual labour, though it has greatly mitigated the evils of slavery, does not confer the benefit of the discipline to which the slaves used to be strictly subjected by their masters. The modern employers do not, either individually or

as a class of organizers, possess full authority over the employed, which masters wielded over their slaves. But if they cannot harm them directly or indirectly, as masters used to injure their slaves, neither are they sufficiently interested in them personally and individually to see to it that they do not abuse their health or squander their earnings. Nor does modern public education cultivate the self-discipline necessary to make up for the lack of external control. If an employee is temporarily or prematurely inefficient, the manager of the company which employs him, having no proprietary right in him, does not trouble much about him. In the ordinary way he simply dismisses him and proceeds to engage a younger or more energetic servant. Meanwhile, another business organization is positively interested in the supply of the very commodities and services which impair the health and absorb the savings of the organized. It is almost too late when the Favoured, as a body, awaken to the deterioration wrought in the stock of the Non-favoured, as reflected in the latter's shortage, inefficiency, or actual debility, and to the heavy financial burden such decline throws on the shoulders of the community—including the Favoured. Then heroic measures are attempted in order to make up for lost time and opportunity, with the object of regenerating the Non-favoured. This actually happened in the United States, when the people, panic stricken by the

demoralizing effect of the excessive consumption of alcohol, rushed headlong into the aridities of Prohibition. In this country we are now and again reminded of the dangers of becoming a C 3 nation, and the people, alarmed, is ready to swallow the pill of sterilization.¹

There is one operating factor among the Non-favoured Fit, i.e. frustration, which does not usually exist in the group of the Favoured Fit, because the latter enjoy the gifts of patronage in precedence to the former. With regard to the more responsible offices, the Favoured are generally preferred to the Non-favoured of equal merit; while the ordinary posts are usually within their reach when they condescend to stoop for them. If they cannot be approved as Proconsuls or Plenipotentiaries, if they cannot

¹ The sterilization of a person labouring under a certain defect would debar him or her from handing down to posterity—and perhaps also from turning to the best account during his or her own lifetime—faculties which the community can ill afford to spare. Now crime is a kind of unfitness, and sterilization is to unfitness in general what capital punishment is to crime. Other penalties than death might with advantage be administered concurrently with the process of radically improving social conditions with a view to eradicating crime, just as therapeutic remedies other than sterilization might successfully be applied concurrently with politico-economic measures taken in order to banish unfitness. But sterilization, far from helping the statesman, would arrest or hinder his work by depriving society of various kinds and quantities of survival values which are vitally necessary for its rehabilitation. Moreover, whatever the argument put forward in favour of the death penalty as a deterrent is worth, the same cannot be advanced for sterilization. Accordingly, sterilization fails in two respects: it does not abolish unfitness; on the contrary, it impoverishes the stock.

be offered fat sinecures and careless livings, if they cannot enter one of the professions or Government services, this trade or that industry—they may enlist as policemen, so to speak.¹ In fact, a relatively larger scope for service is open to them, though they often let opportunities slip by, of which the more alert Non-favoured Fit hasten to avail themselves. According to the estimate, perhaps somewhat exaggerated, of Dr. John Hilton, Professor of Industrial Relations at Cambridge, the odds against a Central Schoolboy getting into one of the “reserved stalls” of life are one thousand to one, they being marked out primarily for the accommodation of wearers of the old school tie. In the absence of a legitimate outlet to their faculties and ability, some Non-favoured Fit resort to force or to fraud. The proceedings in the Criminal and Bankruptcy Courts bear ample testimony to the lamentable truth of this assertion.

The impatience of the Non-favoured Fit with their lot grows with their envy of the more fortunate members of society, which lays them open to every temptation difficult to overcome. No wonder some of them forsake ungrateful, though useful service, and take up more lucrative and often less trying, if largely wasteful and grossly parasitic, forms of employment—including

¹ First-class passengers in a train or liner may travel second class, but second-class passengers may not trespass on first-class compartments or decks.

crime. Sin (i.e. anti-survival conduct) is made so very attractive, its wages are so much inflated, that the wonder is that there remain some people who manage to keep out of its widespread net. The individual's force of character will not invariably withstand the constant blandishments of temptation, so that sooner or later he or she might well give in to it. Hence sexual and commercial immorality, deceit, and violence.

The pressure over the Non-favoured Fit is all the harder because of the following reasons—

1. The fittest among them continually find their way up into the group of the Favoured Fit ; while

2. Some of the Non-favoured Fit, as we have seen,¹ accompany certain of their Favoured employers and friends into the Non-fit Section.

3. Most of the Non-favoured Fit start work at an early age ; and

4. They work hardest and are most sorely pressed by anxiety during the growing and breeding periods. This untimely and excessive burthen tends to impoverish, if it does not actually exhaust, their vitality.

As to the exchange between the two groups of the Fit Section, the losses of the Favoured to the Non-favoured are, in a way, unimportant, while the supplies from the latter to the former are most vital. Indeed, were it not for these continuous reinforcements, the Favoured Fit would soon vanish as a distinct group from the community by

¹ See pp. 64-5.

reason of its constant losses to the other group of the Favoured Class. The continuous extinction of peerages is one of many examples that may be adduced in proof of our contention. Here is another—

There are in this country many families whose "traditions" take them back to the time of the Norman Conquest, when their ancestors are alleged to have distinguished themselves either on the side of the Normans or of the Saxons. It can be said without fear of contradiction from those who have studied the subject that not one of these is a genuine tradition. All are the work of pedigree fakers, who have flourished from very early times, and there is not a word of truth in any of them.—LORD RAGLAN at the British Association.

The movement from the Non-favoured Fit to the Favoured Fit is very much like osmosis, and human society under our economic order suffers through this movement as a plant in a drought.¹ For it causes losses faster and in greater quantity than the group of the Non-favoured Fit—strained as its vitality is by circumstances detailed above—can manage to replace. Now, the less rigid the division between the Favoured and the Non-favoured Classes and the fewer the obstacles to the migration from the one to the other, the longer these losses to the stock through the misdoings of the Favoured Fit will tend to be concealed and the incapacity of the Non-favoured Fit to replace them to go undetected. When we learn of promotions from one group to the other, we are inclined

¹ See pp. 102-7 below.

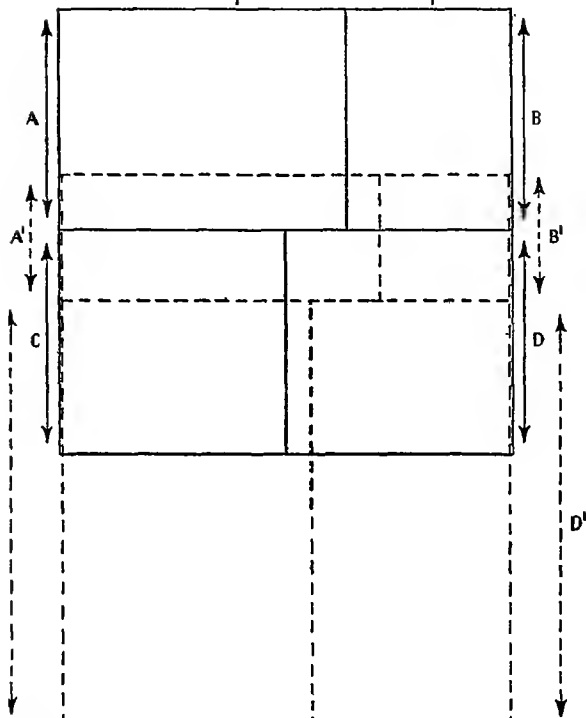
to applaud the individuals concerned and to praise the system which permits such freedom of opportunity, overlooking the while the sinister reasons which make such freedom necessary and the particular promotions possible.

The mode of recruitment is relevant. Here, as elsewhere, fortune plays her part; for instance, through marriage or a bequest. But as a rule, a member of the Non-favoured group has to work hard in order to distinguish himself high above his fellows and so gain admission into the Favoured Class. This over-exertion, whether at school or in business, results in an extra strain which would tend to undermine his vitality and might react adversely on his offspring. Moreover, the struggle for admission into the Favoured Class is a stimulating one, causing hormones which excite and liberate mean anti-social self-selection and all the consequent evils thereof. So-called self-made men are not paragons of virtue. Thus, owing to the quadripartite structure of modern society, merit is corrupted by favour and privilege, instead of its being rewarded with responsibility, and its effect on the stock is damaging in the long run.

IMPERIAL RELATIONS

The Imperialist regime bears two different aspects, according as it is looked at from the point of view of Individualism or from the Quadripartite standpoint. From the first point of view,

The Double Quadripartite Pattern in Imperialism



- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| A = Upper Favoured Fit | { Upper Favoured Class |
| B = " " Non-fit | |
| C = " Non-favoured Fit | { Upper Non-favoured Class |
| D = " " Non-fit | |
| A' = Lower Favoured Fit | { Lower Favoured
(or Intermediate) Class |
| B' = " " Non-fit | |
| C' = " Non-favoured Fit | { Lower Non-favoured Class |
| D' = " " Non-fit | |

the ruling nation appears as the organizer and the subject people as the organized. On the whole, the interests of the latter are subordinate to those of the former. From the second point of view, the dominant nation constitutes the Favoured Class of the Imperial Combination, and the servient nation the comparatively Non-favoured Class; since under such a regime the higher responsible offices and more lucrative opportunities are accessible exclusively or mostly to the citizens of the former nation, whereas most of the routine work and services of secondary importance and onerous nature devolve on the members of the latter. As the Quadripartite Pattern prevails both in the Upper and the Lower Communities, we may distinguish the Classes and Sections of the former from those of the latter by the epithets "Upper" and "Lower."¹

Now just as Economic Individualism engenders conflict between the organizers and the organized,² so does Imperialism result in antagonism between the ruling (organizing) and the ruled (organized). Naturally, the Lower Favoured Class has numerous interests in common with the Lower Non-favoured; but it is also bound by a strong affinity to the Upper Favoured. This dual allegiance enables it to act as a buffer between the two communities and to absorb part of the shock and to mitigate somewhat the discomfort which may

¹ See sketch on p. 79.

² See p. 26, above, and pp. 109-12, below.

ensue from their clash and friction. This Intermediate Class of the Imperial Combination and the ruling State usually act as a check on each other. The knowledge that the undue exploitation of the subject community by the ruling one would alienate from the latter the sympathy of the Intermediate Class and impel that class to join forces with the Lower Non-favoured, in an endeavour to overthrow the imperialist yoke, tends to prevent such undue exploitation. On the other hand, the Lower Favoured are deterred from unduly oppressing the Lower Non-favoured, and thus arousing discontent among them, by the fear of having their own privileges curtailed by the ruling community, which is interested in the maintenance of order within the imperial borders. Thus it is possible to establish a workable equilibrium within the Imperial system.

The exchange of members which occurs between independent communities takes place more or less regularly between the ruling and the subject peoples in the Imperial Combination. The relationship between the two communities may develop mainly in one of two ways: either the groups of the Fit in both tend to mix and coalesce according to their respective classes; or the less fit in the Fit Section of the paramount community may be superimposed over the fittest of the equivalent Section in the dependent community—at the expense of the unfit and the less fit of the latter community, who are gradually squeezed

out of existence, while a number of its fitter members become unfit in their turn.

However, Imperialism gives a momentary impetus to the Upper society, the members of which find ample opportunity for rapid and free development at the expense of the Lower society. On the other hand, if the politico-economic system or the scientific progress of the ruling community is more conducive to the survival of the race than that of the subject community, the latter also may, on the whole, benefit from the imperialist contact, its losses being mitigated and exceeded by its gains.¹ Yet the disintegrating process resulting from the Quadripartite-individualistic System continues none the less severely to hit the stock in both communities: dissoluteness, frustration, and atrophy are accompanied by violence, arrogance, deception, unintelligent loyalty, vanity, and hypocrisy. In this way the Imperialism of Rome depleted or utterly destroyed her subject peoples, and in the end wrecked Rome herself.

¹ For instance, the British abolished suttee, have introduced democratic institutions, and are helping to destroy the caste system in India. Regarding the unique character of the British Empire, see *This Democracy*, pp. 112 and 135-8.

CHAPTER IV

AGGRAVATING CIRCUMSTANCES

THE SEMI-EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

STRANGE as it may at first sight seem, the emancipation of women, that is to say, their acquisition of rights and the indulgence by them in habits previously enjoyed by men only, bears a close resemblance in its origin and consequences to the freedom allowed to members of the Non-favoured Class with regard to their admission into the Favoured Class.¹ At one time women were to men, so far as certain trades and professions were concerned, in the same relation as the Non-favoured Fit are to the Favoured Fit concerning human activities and occupations in general. But severe disqualifications barred the members of the female sex from appointment to posts and offices which were considered the exclusive preserve of the males, just as in rigid caste systems those who belong to the inferior caste are in no circumstances eligible to certain positions allotted exclusively to the privileged. Now, however, in the same way as the Non-favoured Fit are admitted into the circle of the Favoured on certain terms and under certain conditions, women are, broadly speaking, free to engage in any possible activity on a more or less equal footing with the members of the male

¹ See pp. 77-8, above, and pp. 102-5, below.

sex of their own group. The causes of the abolition of sex disqualification are four in number :

1. The Industrial Revolution has facilitated the conditions of work and made it more accessible to the weaker sex.

2. Other things being equal, women have so far been contented with a lower wage than men.

3. The high-mindedness and sense of fairness among some males, characteristics which impelled some masters of yore to advocate the abolition of slavery.

4. The tendency to incapacity amongst the males, as much as the improvement in the standard of women. Women have been granted freedom on the same principles as some slaves were manumitted in Rome, and as some of the Non-favoured Fit are nowadays accepted into the more or less exclusive circles of the Favoured Fit. The conditions which compel concessions to be made are—

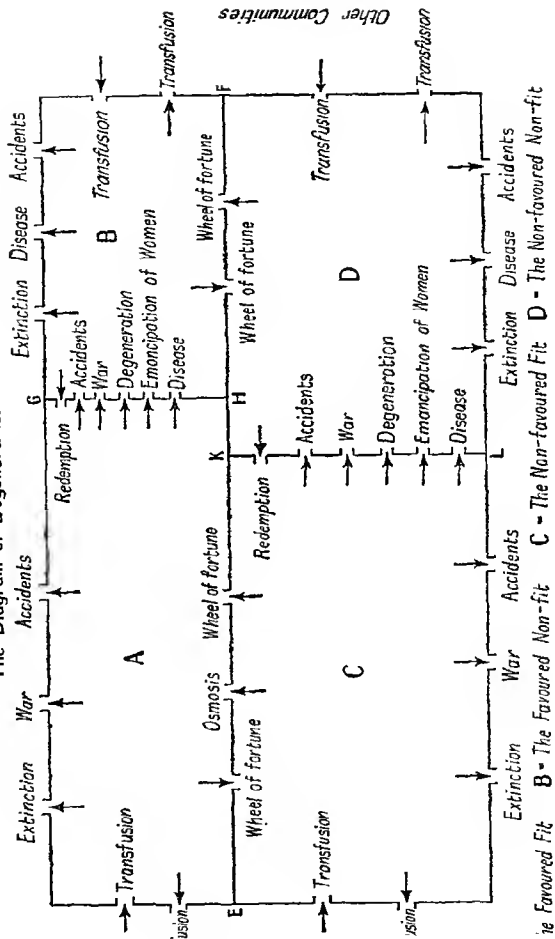
a. The vacancies occasioned by the constant decline in the number and quality of the Favoured Fit.

b. The exceptional standard of some of the Non-favoured Fit.

c. The fear that otherwise the exceptionally endowed amongst the Non-favoured Fit might make common cause with the rest of their group against the Favoured Class.

d. The increase of opportunities through territorial, economic, and scientific conquest, for

The Diagram of Degeneration



Other Communities

ie Favoured Fit B - The Favoured Non-fit C - The Non-favoured Fit D - The Non-favoured Non-fit

which there are, reasonably and practically speaking, no candidates available among the Favoured Fit.¹

But how has the emancipation of women affected the chances of race-survival? *Prima facie*, it ought to have had an entirely beneficial effect, seeing that it is a factor towards universal equality, which is a condition precedent to regeneration and biological development.² Unfortunately, however, it has not been an unadulterated blessing. Let us note in passing two relevant facts.

First, the emancipation of women is as yet incomplete, for there are still obstacles strewn in the way of their ambitions. For instance, in spite of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919, they are not entitled to sit and vote in the House of Lords or to be admitted as members of the Stock Exchange. Females, even though they may belong to the Favoured Class, are disqualified from occupying diplomatic posts. Women's pay is comparatively lower than that of men, and they are to a great extent still dependent on men as their wives, daughters, and friends. It is no small consideration in a man's budgetary calculations that he has to spend money on "the girl he takes out." Hence his need for higher income.

¹ Supposing all the women (the formerly Non-favoured Sex) were removed from their present commercial and professional positions; are there sufficient men (the formerly Favoured Sex) available to fill up the vacancies?

² See pp. 140-42, below.

Second, the emancipation of women is one-sided. Men, for instance, do not indulge in cooking, washing, sewing, and nursing to the extent that women engage in commercial and professional occupations previously monopolized by men. Men generally depend on others in respect of these services ; while the fact that the woman earns her own living does not necessarily free her from doing part at least of her own washing, cooking, and sewing. Hence her satisfaction with lower wages.

Before the Industrial Revolution, though woman did not stand on an equal footing with man, the female sex was the reservoir, for what it was worth, of the human stock. While strong men were killed or overworked, their women folk were generally granted comparative security and exempted from certain dangerous and exhausting activities. Since the advent of the Industrial Revolution, however, women have been dragooned into mines (this has been discontinued in this country), factories, offices, and shops, which has contributed to the sapping of their vitality and has led to their neglecting of their natural functions of bearing and bringing up children.¹

¹ The number of cases dealt with by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children during the year 1936-7 was 46,003. It would have been even greater had the public co-operated whole-heartedly with the officials of the Society in exposing offences. Two points require emphasizing: one, that this figure is the highest total since the War, and the other, that the cases of neglect are on the increase. See the 53rd Annual Report, August, 1937.

Moreover, women imitate men in every activity and indulgence, whether or not it be conducive to the faithful discharge of these functions. Accordingly, there are signs that they are deteriorating too. For instance, the Scottish health statistics show that the rise in maternal mortality has been going on almost steadily since 1855, and this discouraging phenomenon is by no means confined to Scotland. Sir Thomas Oliver of Newcastle finds that for the first time on record stammering is becoming prevalent among girls, whereas it used to be mainly observed in boys. According to him, the changes in modern life are possibly responsible. Dr. F. J. Bentley, Divisional Medical Officer of the L.C.C., is of opinion that "the present young woman is definitely worse off than her mother in her fight against tuberculosis." He might have added cancer, for the figures of this scourge are on the climb among women, even as among men.

Most women nowadays are still mainly interested in their own immediate individual security. Generally the aim in view is marriage, that is, the personal acquisition of a husband and a home, not necessarily the solution of the problems of matrimony. Marriage is not always conceived by them as a new career of adventure and creative achievement in co-operation with their respective mates—a means of rendering public service through individual satisfaction and benefit. It is often thought of as a conventionally decent and not altogether difficult method of shirking

the responsibilities of life, whatever it may in fact turn out to be in certain particular instances. In other words, in not a few cases marriage is a peculiar example of Socio-Economic Individualism.¹ To quote Father Francis Woodlock, S.J., "Marriage . . . came to be regarded as existing primarily for pleasure, not parenthood, for recreative rather than creative ends."

But the emancipated woman has already made a substantial contribution to public life in various directions: the office, the school, and the hospital, to mention only three. With the vote in her possession, she may yet play a decisive role in obtaining equality with man in labour; facilities for marriage; the scientific determination of conditions as to dietetics, work, comfort, and leisure for both men and women, with a view to assuring the advent of a fit progeny and to securing unassisted easy child-bearing; adequate care for mothers and would-be mothers; improved attention for children till they reach the age of capacity to work, whatever that age may be; and security for the human species against internal and international upheavals through the rational reformation of State and inter-State institutions. In short, it is only too likely that woman will use her comparatively new social opportunity as she has always used her primeval natural power, namely, in favour of race-survival.

¹ See p. 20, above.

ACCIDENTS AND WAR

All members of the community are exposed to accidents, yet not equally. The proportion of victims must be greater in the Section of the Fit, owing to the greater activity displayed by its members, whether Favoured or Non-Favoured, as compared with the Non-fit. The powers of resistance and recuperation of the Fit often save them from destruction, but cannot guarantee them against unfitness. Here again the Industrial Revolution has caused the augmentation of the number of the victims and the aggravation of the accidents. A momentary act or omission of thoughtlessness, inability, or incompetence may, and sometimes does, have fatal consequences. Especially hit are the Non-favoured Fit in the mine, in the factory, and on the road. The following set of statistics is significant, the first two classes corresponding roughly to our Favoured Class, and the other three to our Non-favoured Class—

TABLE C.—STANDARDIZED MORTALITY (COMPARATIVE MORTALITY FIGURES) FOR ALL CAUSES AND FOR CERTAIN SELECTED CAUSES OF MALES AGED 20-65 YEARS ENGAGED IN CERTAIN OCCUPATIONS, 1921-23.

		All Causes. Accidents.	
All Occupied and Retired Civilian Males		1000	49.3
Social Class	I (Upper and Middle) Civilians only	812	39.9
	II (Intermediate)	942	34.5
	III (Skilled Workers)	951	46.8
	IV (Intermediate)	1007	63.8
	V (Unskilled Workers)	1258	59.2

The Registrar-General's Decennial Supplement, England and Wales, 1921, Part II, p. CXVIII.

Bats have evolved an extremely sensitive skin which helps them to perceive and avoid obstacles when flying at some speed in the dark. But the

comparatively sudden advent of explosives, steam-engines, and motor vehicles has found man most inadequately equipped with senses and powers to cope with the risk to which these novel contraptions expose him. The net result is that accidents diminish the number of the fit and increase that of the unfit. In the circumstances, the working of machines of every kind ought to be reasonably controlled, that is, so worked as to allow of human adaptation, if the race is to be preserved through the process of putting into practice and rendering safe the dangerous inventions which follow each other in quick succession. Fortunately, more or less adequate precautions are taken now to safeguard workers against industrial accidents. Nevertheless, according to Mr. E. W. Murray, keeper of the Home Office Industrial Museum, "it is estimated that industrial accidents in this country have been costing £9,000,000 a year." He is of opinion that if factory-owners availed themselves of up-to-date devices they could reduce the accident rate and cost by 80 per cent. Moreover, the state of occupational diseases is not quite reassuring, while the traffic reports are actually alarming. For instance, in 1936 traffic offences numbered 488,297, and according to the report published by the Industrial Assurance Office, "over 380 members of the wage-earning classes met their death during July, 1937, as the result of fatal traffic accidents. A sum of £12,900 has been paid to their families under industrial

assurance policies." It has been appositely pointed out that the total casualties of the South African War were 5774 killed and 22,829 wounded, as compared with 6633 killed and 226,402 injured on the roads of Britain in 1936. Further, it has been computed that 80 per cent of the time of the County Courts is taken up by "Running Down" cases, one judge alone having dealt with over 1500 cases during the decade 1923-33, when they were less common than they are now.¹ Mr. J. Dyer Simpson, President of the Insurance Institute of Liverpool, estimates that road accidents cost the country £25,000,000 each year. Translated into terms of wages, this means that each year the efforts of about a quarter of a million men are wasted. True, the aggrieved parties are in great part economically compensated, but, racially speaking, there can often be no *restitutio in integrum*, and the loss to the stock is largely irretrievable. Here again we see the contrast between pure economics and bio-economics.

The institution of pedestrian crossings has undoubtedly hampered motor driving, but, on the other hand, it has gone some way towards teaching both motorists and pedestrians how to use the roads with a minimum of risk. When a motor driver, summoned for ignoring one of these crossings to the danger of the public, protested that it was inconvenient for motorists to take

¹ See the *Daily Telegraph*, 22nd September, 1933.

notice of them, the magistrate calmly retorted that it was meant to be. These crossings are there primarily for the convenience of pedestrians, so that motorists must accommodate their pace to their existence. That is why in a recent case the Court of Appeal ruled that a pedestrian, injured by a motorist on one of these crossings which was not controlled by a police officer or traffic lights, could not be counter-charged with contributory negligence. On the other hand, a pedestrian who deliberately obstructed the traffic by lingering on his way across the road was summoned and fined. Furthermore, pedestrians may be civilly liable for accidents caused to motorists by their negligence or wilful wrong. Thus the control of the movement of both pedestrians and motorists favours the safety and freedom of the road for all its users.

Another new project for adapting mechanical speed to human safety is the allocation of tracks for cyclists. Obviously, the cyclists will be slightly inconvenienced thereby, but they will enjoy in return a large margin of security.

We should do well to distinguish in this connection between accidents occasioned directly by Economic Individualism and those due to personal turpitude. As a matter of fact, at a recent inquest it transpired that the negligence of a lorry-driver was due to excessive work imposed by the employers, which the coroner stigmatized as "slave-driving"; "absolutely diabolical" was the phrase

used by the foreman of the jury. This was not an isolated case, and therefore it was found necessary to enact a measure to remedy this evil.¹ Moreover, there can be no doubt that many of those injured by road traffic or other agencies are the direct or indirect victims of the road-*versus*-rail or some other useless competition. As to the accidents caused through personal turpitude of smaller or greater degree, they reflect the depravity and lack of self-restraint of the responsible individuals (irresponsible rather), many of whom are caught under the influence of drink. And be it remembered that such irresponsibility is largely the indirect result of Economic Individualism, which ultimately works on the anarchic principles of "beggar my neighbour" and "everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost," engendering and fostering a perverse individualistic mentality and an unfriendly environment.

Nevertheless, the toll of life and limb levied through accidents differs both in quantity and in character from the wilful and wholesale injury inflicted in war.

Armed conflicts openly and violently tax the resources of the fit and increase the number of the unfit by mowing down and mutilating the flower of manhood and by corrupting the survivors with ruthless cruelty, greed, disease, and dishonesty. The Industrial Revolution in its various phases has augmented and intensified the destructive effects of war. Millions of one-time healthy and intelligent

¹ See s. 31, Traffic Act, 1933, and s. 7 of the 1934 Act.

youths lie past rotting in the battle-fields of history. Yet the voice of their blood still cries from the ground, giving the lie to those who assert that they rightly sacrificed their lives in the sacred name of self-preservation. Millions of the halt and maim, men with deranged minds and damaged bodies, together with a great number of vicious creatures, have outlived the wars to prove that internecine competition does not contribute materially to the survival of the fittest.¹

DISEASE

The diseases with which mankind is afflicted are more numerous than those which attack the rest of the animal kingdom, and their general character is more malignant. Moreover, at intervals epidemics swoop down on society and spread havoc mostly among its less fit members. This is Dame Nature's impetuous way of settling overdrawn accounts with her creatures, but it is by no means an economic way of cleaning up.

First, these blind scourges hit individuals and not merely such of their characteristics as are inimical to race-survival, so that numerous persons perish because they happen to be at a certain time vulnerable to the particular shaft of a special disease. Considering that no individual is perfectly fit, and that many of those who, on the whole, lead useful lives from the point of view of race-survival are in fact physically unfit (and therefore exposed) in more than one respect, one can easily imagine the wasteful loss of valuable

¹ *This Democracy*, pp. 70-1.

members which takes place from time to time and which the community can ill afford to incur.

Then mere accident, momentary negligence of the rules of hygiene, and noble self-sacrifice assist epidemics in their levying of a far from negligible toll among the comparatively fit. In these days of circulating libraries, public vehicles, cinemas, theatres, fast communications by land, sea, and air, contact is constant, close, and many-sided between various individuals and distant communities, and consequently contagion finds many innocent victims.

Lastly, most of the psychological characteristics which militate against race-survival, because they lead to and precipitate abuse of power, are only slightly, superficially, and indirectly affected by epidemics. No bacteria have as yet been discovered which have a special predilection for the predominantly fraudulent, aggressive, or greedy.

Medical science helps modern society to check the career of epidemics, and thus saves it from indiscriminate purgations. But does it substitute for them a rational method of cleansing? A growing volume of evidence tends to show that at present therapeutic treatment is, at its best, only personal, partial, and temporary, and that the stock is being continually undermined by causes beyond the reach of the medical profession. For instance, our diet is not scientifically regulated. We do not eat and drink what is really good for us individually or as a race, but what individualistic organizations

choose to produce, advertise, and sell to us. We are often cured of the symptoms of disease, rather than freed from the real cause of it, which remains untackled. Even when a radical cure is effected, it does not necessarily amount to the regeneration of the patient's constitution, so that his or her after-acquired offspring may well be born predisposed to catch the same or some other disease.

True, the expectation of life is longer now than it used to be, but it seems that longevity is attained at the expense of robustness, and that its continued progress is uncertain. Suppose the enjoyment of life or happiness to be the product of a multiplication, where the multiplier is the span of life and the multiplicand the three characteristics of survival value. Other things being equal—such as the opportunities of enjoying Health (or X), Intelligence (or Y), and Virtue (or Z)—if the span of life (or A) lengthens and becomes A^+ , while X , Y , and Z remain constant or increase in power, then the enjoyment of life would obviously be fuller. But if, on the other hand, these three characteristics or any one or two of them decrease in power and become X' , Y' , or Z' , the addition to the span of life may be insufficient to produce an expression equivalent to the one consisting of the original span of life (or A) and X , Y , and Z at their original strength. What experts have to estimate is whether $(X + Y + Z) A$ is equal, superior, or inferior to

$(X' + Y' + Z) A^+$, or to $(X' + Y + Z) A^+$, or to $(X + Y' + Z') A^+$, etc.

So much for the aspect of the problem as touching our own generation. There is another and even more serious aspect, viz. that which regards our descendants. If fitness is impaired so that people suffer from various ailments at the early period of breeding, the coming generations will be born diseased or lethargic, or they will be neglected or brought up badly by ailing or jaded parents. When that stage is reached, and we may not be very far from it, all the skill and art of man will not avail to preserve, much less to prolong, human life. People then will live both short and shaky lives; it will be a golden age of epidemics and chronic diseases. Lo, racial bankruptcy and extinction are at hand!

Therefore let those who minister to our health improve their technique for healing, and let them co-operate with our statesmen in saving mankind which, like the Gadarene herd, is heading straight for self-immolation.

EXTINCTION

The community suffers irreparable loss through the extinction of its offspring, which occurs in three ways:

One, mainly in the Section of the Non-fit, when the vitality of its members is used up, and their offspring, if any, die young or childless.

The other, when members of the community,

who would otherwise be classed among the fit, suffer from impotence or incapacitating malformation or abnormality of the procreative organs. How real is the menace of sexual impotence and perversion is shown by the evidence given in the Criminal and Divorce Courts; especially when one considers that only a small percentage of such cases comes up before the Courts.

But the most alarming factor of extinction is artificial contraception within and without wedlock. The judicious use of contraceptives presupposes a sense of responsibility; yet this sense is wholly lacking where most needed. The probability is, therefore, that the better stock is diminishing through contraception to a relatively greater extent than the bad.

While fantastic measures (e.g. segregation, sterilization, euthanasia¹) are variously advocated in order to restrict the reproduction of the worst

¹ That euthanasia would be of doubtful efficacy is proved by the fact that despite the wholesale destruction of affected cattle, we have not been able to master foot-and-mouth disease or to reduce the ravages of tuberculosis among the milking cows. This is what the Chief Food Inspector for Liverpool said at the 1933 Conference of Sanitary Inspectors: "Thirty per cent of the cows killed under my supervision last year were tuberculous. . . . When it is considered that the percentage was just as alarming twenty-five years ago, it would have been expected that veterinary science would in that period have effected some diminution." He then proceeded, in agreement with Sir Leonard Hill, who presided, to recommend certain environmental improvements, in addition to the continued subjection of the cattle to systematic veterinary examination. As to sterilization, see p. 74, above.

types among the Non-fit, who after all are in a small minority, the propagation of the relatively fit, who form the majority of the community, is effectively restricted by indirect means. Thus members of His Majesty's Forces (perhaps also the police and the clergy) and female Civil Servants and teachers are directly discouraged from marrying, whereas general economic conditions force both men and women to celibacy or childless marriage. For when a working woman is in an advanced stage of child-bearing she has to retire from her occupation, to which she cannot return until some time after her delivery. Yet she earns no extra wage to allow her to lay aside certain savings to fall back upon during her confinement. She enjoys the advantage of no particular benefit or bonus on account of the event. Nor is she sure that her old job will be available to her when on her recovery she would offer her labour again for hire. The result is that many women, young and fit, hesitate to enter into matrimony, and that when they do marry, the economic burden of pregnancy and rearing—if they take place—falls mostly on the shoulders of the individual male. As a rule, unless he is in receipt of a tolerably comfortable income liable to tax, or draws a pittance by reason of his unemployment, he obtains no relief on account of matrimonial or parental responsibilities.

Of course, other things being equal, it makes not the slightest difference from the standpoint of

pure economics, as distinguished from bio-economics, whether the person employed be married or single, parent or childless. Therefore Economic Individualism favours not marriage, that is to say, wherever it prevails, and to the extent to which it prevails, persons are remunerated without reference to their matrimonial or parental status. Generally speaking, what was originally good for him as a bachelor has at first to do for him and his wife, and then for both and their child or children. That is how marriage becomes an uncertain event in young people's lives and is sometimes postponed and unduly retarded.¹ And when it does take place, unless birth control is rigorously practised, insufficiency sets into the household, insecurity besets it, and consequently debility afflicts the race.²

These artificial economic conditions result in the disproportionate increase of the Non-fit. To them must be added the fear of childbed entertained by would-be mothers generally, including women who are fit and willing to bear children; and the direct reduction of the number of the Fit, through

¹ In Nazi Germany the State issues marriage loans and grants family subsidies. It is worthy of note that in this country a large firm has taken the initiative by deciding to give a special bonus to each of its employess whose household includes more than three children under the school-leaving age. This, by the way, is not an isolated instance where enlightened employers have boldly exceeded, or rather broadened, the bounds of Economic Individualism.

² Birth control is also exercised outside wedlock because here, apart from the economic factor, there is the prohibitive social opprobrium of illegitimacy to both mother and child.

the avoidance of parenthood, owing to the inordinate desire for leisure and pleasure widely spread among the hedonistic "moderns" of both sexes.

SOCIAL OSMOSIS

Let us imagine a membrane dividing the Fit Section into two strata and generally permitting penetration in one direction only, namely, from the lower social group to the upper. The concentration of comfort in the upper group sets up a current, and a peaceful osmotic movement occurs, permeating regularly or spasmodically, gradually or abruptly, perceptibly or otherwise, according to easily definable circumstances. Thus whether the filtration is rapid or slow may depend, for instance, on the relation between the number of the Favoured Fit and the size and quality of their patronage, and on the ratio between the number of the Favoured Fit and that of the Non-favoured Fit in a particular community. If not arrested by strong insurmountable barriers of caste or convention, the emigration of the Non-favoured Fit will go on until a state of equilibrium is reached between the forces of one group and those of the other. No sooner, however, is that equilibrium broken than a difference of pressure results, which may be called osmotic pressure, and the osmotic movement resumes its course, usually upwards.¹ The new-

¹ The dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire reduced the patronage of the Favoured Class in Austria, which precipitated an osmotic current *downwards*.

comers steadily, though not always smoothly, mix with the established Favoured Fit and form with them a more or less homogeneous class. This process may be rightly described as social diffusion, and the rate of its activity and progress depends on ascertainable conditions which vary from one community to another.

The prosperity and poverty of families alternate in cycles. Ability and intelligence or cunning are succeeded, in the next or some later generation, by incompetence and simplicity in this or that descendant, which in their turn give place to ability and intelligence, and so on, until the family is extinct. Permanency of tenure is impossible within the Quadripartite Pattern, the immigration into the Favoured Class and the return to the Non-favoured Class being very aptly expressed by the old saw: "From clogs to clogs (or as we should say now, from shirt-sleeves to shirt-sleeves) in three generations." But let us not be misled into believing that when the wheel has turned full circle, the net result has been merely a reversion to the *status quo ante*. True, from the purely economic standpoint there appears to be no change: A, B, and C are where their ancestors were, while the community may have been enriched by the effort of the intervening generations. From the bio-economic standpoint, however, the double process of rise and fall has probably left the stock impoverished to a degree unredeemed by the wealth accrued to the

community. Hence the existence side by side of impressive achievement with dwindling stock. It is not long before the country is desolate or settled by newcomers.

It is this instability, characteristic of the Quadripartite Pattern, which prevents the race from improving through heredity, and has blinded some investigators to the possibility of racial improvement. Continuity, when it occurs, is superficial, short and sporadic, especially owing to the aggravating circumstances dealt with in this chapter.

Just as the plant needs nitrates and other salts for its survival, human society needs intelligence, health, and virtue for its survival. The substances required by the plant are dissolved in water which carries them through the vascular bundles; similarly, the animal survival characteristics are found in human bodies which convey them by various channels throughout the body social, e.g. heredity and education. Now if the waste through transpiration from the leaves or through some defect in the vascular bundles, cannot be made good by the transpiration current, the supply and distribution of nutrition is checked and the plant withers and dies. *Mutatis mutandis*, this happens in society: if the loss in healthy, intelligent, and virtuous persons—incurred in the process of migration from the Section of the Fit to that of the Non-fit, plus the loss sustained in the struggle of passing from the Non-favoured Fit to

the Favoured Class, and the decrease in the number of the Fit through extinction and emigration—are not replenished with due speed and sufficiency, sooner or later society declines and becomes extinct. Again, the deficiency in water with nourishing substance in solution may not be made up, either because the waste is abnormal, or because the supply is subnormal or of the wrong kind, or because of the combined effect of these three reasons or any two of them together. On the other hand, the loss in health, intelligence, and virtue in a certain society may not be recovered, either because the waste of them is excessive through the operation of factors within or beyond human control, or because not enough food, or food of the wrong kind, is absorbed by its members; including in the term food both mental and physical nourishment, such as ordinary aliment, drink, air, smoke, medicine, warmth, information, ideas, prejudices and beliefs.

Now the cumulative effect of the consequences attendant upon the Quadripartite-individualistic System is the undermining of health and intelligence. This result is of double danger to the survival of the race. First, it relaxes the external controlling social forces which might curb or correct any tendency in individuals or groups against race-survival. Second, it enfeebles the internal will and desire which may exist in the individual to foster health and intelligence in himself and in others. It has a deteriorating effect, not

only on intelligence and health, but also on the desire and will to promote these vital attributes. Indeed, it stimulates fraud, greed, envy, lust, hatred, and revenge, and provokes violence. Consequently, especially in view of and since the Industrial Revolution, the constant losses to mankind in terms of fitness, it is submitted, have been substantially unredeemed, and degeneration is proceeding at a startling pace, spreading untold suffering along its reckless course. It is all too probable that dull employment, malnutrition, noxious industrial conditions, long hours, intensive work, anxiety, frustration, and the corresponding necessity of artificial stimuli, have affected the vast majority of civilized mankind and have perforce tended to make the race weaker, a few deceptive appearances notwithstanding. At the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, Economic Individualism was utterly unbridled in this country with regard to mining and manufacture. There were no restrictions in respect of sex, age or hours; there was no Fatal Accidents Act, no Employers' Liability Act, no Workmen's Compensation Act, and no Factory or Mines Act. Since then these and other measures have been passed by Parliament, with a view to protecting the organized from the unscrupulousness and greed of some of the organizers. The fact is, mankind has suddenly been swung into the Industrial Era as into an entirely new climatic period. It needs all the ingenuity and organized

resources of human society to protect the species from the degeneration or extinction to which we are exposed, in the process of our attempt at acclimatization to the radically altered surrounding conditions of our own creation.

BALANCE SHEET

of Communal Stock at the end of a Period of *X* Years,
according to Diagram on p. 85

ON THE CREDIT SIDE, GAINS:

By group A from B, through Redemption; from abroad,
through Infusion; from itself,
through Reproduction.

Reduction of group B by Effusion abroad.

By group C from D, through Redemption; from
abroad, through Infusion; from
itself, through Reproduction.

Reduction of group D by Effusion abroad.

ON THE DEBIT SIDE, LOSSES:

By group A to B, through Degeneration, War, Disease,
the Emancipation of Women, and
Accidents;

“ “ to Death, through War, Disease, Acci-
dents and Old Age;
abroad, through Effusion;
to Extinction, through Malformation and
Contraception.

“ “ B to Death, through Accidents and Disease;
to Extinction, through Exhaustion of one
kind and another.

“ “ C to D, through Degeneration, War,
Disease, the Emancipation of
Women, Accidents and Old Age;
to Death, through War, Disease, and
Accidents;
abroad, through Effusion;
to Extinction, through Malformation and
Contraception.

“ “ D to Death, through Accidents and Disease;
to Extinction, through Exhaustion of one
kind and another.

Expansion of group B through Infusion from abroad.

“ “ “ D “ “ “ “

Net Result—The losses probably surpass the gains, and
the communal stock is on the descent.

CHAPTER V

THE DEGENERATION OF MANKIND

REVOLUTIONS AND INVASIONS

If the foregoing be a substantially true, albeit sketchy, description of the unsuspected currents which run in the bosom of society, it will help us to study the apparent vagaries of social heredity and to discover the reasons for the rise and downfall of nations, and of the outbreak of great revolutions and invasions.

For instance, as the horizontal line *EF* (see the diagram on page 111) moves downwards and the Favoured Class grows larger, its burden on the Non-favoured becomes less and less tolerable. There comes a time when the equilibrium of power is disturbed: the balance of labour incidence broken. Then changes of a radical nature take place, almost invariably as a result of violence to persons and property.¹ Meanwhile, the expansion of the Favoured Class, mainly through osmosis, allows of its breaking up into two sub-classes, the Upper Favoured and the Lower Favoured, the latter being known as the Middle Class. When the burden of the Favoured Class as a whole grows too heavy to bear, the members of this middle

¹ Note the constitutional and peaceful evolution which has proceeded steadily in this country during the two and a half centuries which separate us from the Stuart struggles.

order in the social hierarchy sometimes amalgamate with the upper order to subdue the Non-favoured Class; at other times they make common cause with the latter and revolt against the Upper Favoured Stratum.¹ But the Middle Class not only occupies the position of arbiter of the nation's destiny, it also acts as a buffer class and gives stability to the State. Its very existence is evidence of the regular and liberal functioning of social osmosis, which allows the passage into the Favoured Class of the fittest among the Non-favoured, and therefore at one and the same time reinforces the Favoured Class and places the leadership of the Non-favoured in the Middle Class. The greater the degree of impermeability owing to the rigid constitution of the social strata, the more meagre and weak the Middle Class is, and the closer the resemblance between the behaviour of the social strata and that of geological strata at a critical juncture, i.e. the greater the shock produced by their disturbance, resulting in a sudden and seismic devastation of the social structure.

Again, as the vertical line *GH* shifts leftwards, and the Favoured Class has fewer members to rely upon to direct the affairs of the community generally and to look after its own interests—as

¹ The former move is generally considered to be reactionary, the latter radical. From the point of view of race-survival, however, the alignment of the forces of the Middle and Upper Classes is not necessarily a retrogressive event, any more than the alternative is invariably a progressive one. It depends on the motives and the objects of the alignment.

against those of the other Class—the danger of its overthrow becomes greater and more imminent. Such a situation arises in a caste-like organization of society, where the osmotic movement is very weak or non-existent, e.g. Tsarist Russia and Imperial Turkey.

Finally, the movement of the vertical line KL in the same direction would indicate a general national collapse, due to several contributory factors.

Now every community with rich resources at its disposal is, in relation to the rest of mankind, and particularly to its less fortunate neighbours, in a position similar to that of the Favoured Fit group *vis-à-vis* the Non-favoured Fit group in the same community. Should a wealthy community fail to make the best of its opportunities and adequately to improve and increase its stock, it would gradually become permeated by foreign elements through osmotic penetration, or it would be suddenly and forcibly overrun by conquerors. No treaties, defensive measures, or aliens' restrictions could safeguard against the one or the other of these events, neither would there be any ethical justification, from the survival standpoint, for such purely artificial protection. A case in point is the invasion of the Roman Empire in the West by the Germanic tribes, and in the East by the Arabs and the Turks.

On the other hand, a modern movement of peaceful penetration has established in France a foreign

element of a marked, if assimilable, character; hence the large number of non-French family names in that country. This movement has replenished the unredeemed losses incurred by the French people mainly through war, colonization, and industrialism. For ever since the times of the Conquest and the Crusades, to take a convenient starting point, the French have taken part in almost every European adventure. They have, as a nation, bitten off more than they have been able to chew. Witness the fact, reported in the *Daily Telegraph* of the 25th August, 1937, that "the French Merchant Marine is suffering from lack of officers, and it is possible that the service will be faced with the necessity of recruiting foreign captains next year." This does not necessarily mean that the French merchant navy is too large for the requirements of France, or that the French stock is inferior to any other; but rather that French commitments generally have expanded beyond the capacity and numbers of the French stock to meet unaided.

Whenever shortage of labour is felt—especially skilled labour of one kind or another—there are four cardinal questions to be answered before arriving at an accurate estimate of the average standard of fitness in a certain society.:

First, is the shortage due to increase of opportunities for work?

Second, is it due to the inadequate standard of training and education?

Third, is the available talent rationally distributed? In other words, are healthy and capable men and women being drafted into parasitic pursuits, or appointed to light tasks which might be undertaken by comparatively inferior members?

Fourth, is plurality of offices, official and otherwise, due to racial exhaustion or to obstacles placed in the way of potential holders through mal-organization?

But under the present international system and practice, peaceful penetration may be as detrimental to peace as eruptive acquisition, for it might lead to war and imperialism and all the evils attendant and consequent thereon. Observe the military occupation of Manchuria and the unprovoked invasion of China, which followed the initial development by Japanese capital and Japanese settlers of certain districts on the mainland.

In the *Statesman*, Plato recommends the adoption by one State of citizens belonging to another, without, however, inquiring into the necessity for such hospitality.¹ It is the relation which the national man-power and capacity bears to the national activities at home and abroad that is the crux of the problem of naturalization and the colonial question. The case is simply one of *qui trop embrasse mal étreint*. The price a nation may pay for undue expansion is at the least political

¹ *Plato*, by H. N. Fowler (Heinemann), vol. iii, p. 191.

extinction. The punishment might not amount to racial exhaustion, as the political organization may break down before the stock is undermined. But if expansion be accompanied by improper use of power, which it has practically always been, undue expansion being in itself an instance of improper use of power, then the survival qualities of the race are impaired.

When considering the Anglo-French commitments in the light of this exposition, it must be borne in mind that the population of Greater Germany equals that of the British at home and overseas, and that the population of Italy equals that of France. And since it would not be unfair to assume that the proportion of the Fit is about the same all round, the post-War politico-economic problem assumes a racial complexion and demands an equitable solution, in the interests of the four Powers primarily concerned, as well as in those of the human race as a whole. No financial jugglery, no political trickery, can solve it satisfactorily. Still less can violence, threat of violence, or territorial redistribution within exclusive national jurisdictions. This is essentially a problem of complicated organization and delicate readjustments. Sound statesmanship alone, based on good faith and animated by goodwill, aiming at sincere international co-operation, can settle it and achieve the appeasement which is indispensable for the recuperation of mankind.

DECADENCE

Slow, steady, unsuspected movements of disintegration and periodical sudden upheavals have taken place in various communities down the ages and throughout the world. Human society has repeatedly been organized and reorganized basically on the same heterogeneous Quadripartite Pattern. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. The outward forms might indeed change, but the system has for thousands of years been more or less the same, namely: the legal or customary recognition of Economic and Social Individualism, and the horizontal division of society into two classes—the superior and the inferior class—inevitably followed or accompanied by the vertical cross-division into good stock and bad. It matters little whether the main legal distinction lies between free persons and slaves, or whether all citizens are classified into masters, servants, and such as are partly masters and partly servants, e.g. employees of a company who are shareholders in the same or in some other company, or who have a deposit at the bank.¹ Nor is the argument that it is possible for every servant, through luck or exertion, to acquire the status of master more relevant than that of freedom of contract of service. The claims of this or that member, section, or class, of the community are

¹ Banks are the media through which these semi-organizers-semi-organized, invest their savings. The banks use these savings and give their owners a certain interest in return.

not in issue or under consideration. It is the Quadripartite Pattern and Economic Individualism, as a system, that are on trial. For so long as they are in force, it would make little difference whether legislation is based on the principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, or on that of the greatest happiness of the smallest number. There is only a superficial difference of degree between them. Whereas in the first instance the privileges of the vast majority are mistaken for universal rights, and the complaints of the small minority are drowned amidst the noisy hilarity of the thoughtless many, in the second instance the preferential treatment enjoyed by the few is glaring and perhaps widely condemned. In either case degeneration would set in if the losses sustained by society exceed the gains in terms of fitness; though it depends entirely on circumstances, including chiefly the character of happiness,¹ whether the losses in one case would be greater than in the other. For instance, minorities cannot be wronged, majorities cannot be indulgent, without damaging the stock at its very roots.

It cannot be over-emphasized that every reorganization of society on the Quadripartite Pattern has marked an imperceptible decline in the stock from the standard immediately preceding it, whatever amount of regeneration may have been achieved during the interval between two reorganizations. Thus, let us suppose that

¹ See *This Democracy*, pp. 11-16.

an originally perfect community has, for some mysterious reason, been divided and subdivided into four groups as aforesaid, and that thereafter it has undergone a hundred bloody revolutions during a period of, say, ten or twenty thousand years—and we have seen that for one reason or another violent upheavals, in the shape of revolution or invasion, are inevitable under the Quadripartite-individualistic System when the equilibrium between the four groups is broken. At the first revolution its average standard would be, say 99.9 per cent fit; at the second, only 99.8 per cent; and so on decreasingly, according to a remorseless negative mathematical progression, till at the 100th reorganization the standard of fitness would stand at 90 per cent—unless regenerative factors have in the meantime made up for part or the whole of the decadence and have thus redressed the balance of the stock. For not only does no such revolution take place unless and until society has appreciably decayed and the average standard of fitness has actually been lowered, but also each intense struggle diminishes the number of the fit and increases that of the unfit. Nor is the result very different when conquest or brutal repression takes the place of revolution.

The human stock must in fact have continuously deteriorated for a considerable time; though it has apparently remained static, owing to the absence of statistics and of a uniform and accurate

standard of mensuration. The free intercourse between the various groups, and especially between the Favoured Fit and the Non-favoured Fit under the modern semi-democratic system,¹ has contributed greatly to the concealment of this unpleasant truth. Yet because of various inventions by individual members and the periodical appearance of a prodigy, human stock is even believed to be improving. It is submitted, however, that the development of intelligence has not been commensurate with that of education, any more than the promotion of health has been relative to the advance in medical knowledge. We are better informed and more trained than our ancestors were, but this should not mislead us into concluding that we are more intelligent. Similarly, having regard to the enormous increase in the number of doctors and the great improvement in their scientific equipment, we ought to have become far healthier than our ancestors. Yet certain *indicia* point the other way. Thus it has been suggested by Dr. C. C. Hurst of Cambridge that intelligence in this country, the United States, France, Holland, and other "advanced countries" is declining so rapidly as to endanger modern civilization. The progress in education and scientific research has merely concealed the recession in the health and intelligence of man, and has lulled him into a dangerous complacency. It

¹ Modern Democracy is imperfect both politically and economically.

is not geniuses, honest and peace-loving people and athletic and beautiful figures that ought to be rare, but mental defectives, impostors, ugliness, aggressive persons, and weaklings; yet the reverse is the case in our civilization.

Looking about, one cannot fail to notice a great number of people squinting and stammering, coughing and spitting, stumping, wobbling, slouching, and hobbling. Deformities abound in the shape of bandy legs and knock-knees, uneven shoulders and bent backs, ungainly hands and splay feet, bloated bodies and emaciated figures, odd ears, slanting faces and distorted skulls, hooked, flat, and turned-up noses, protruding upper jaws and receding lower ones. False, ugly irregular, and decayed teeth, and spectacles with various lenses, are most common even among children; indigestion, headaches, rheumatism, neurasthenia, and rickets are rampant. Different persons suffer from different complaints: anæmia, varicose veins, tumours, or other morbid symptoms. Some are stunted, others are precocious or prematurely bald; some are sexual perverts (or invertes), others are asexual, sterile, or impotent. Boils, pimples, marks, sores, and warts further disfigure our appearance.

What should we say of a race of cattle or horses that exhibited these deformities, diseases, ailments, and debilities? At one time some of these infirmities and defects accompanied old age; now, however, they anticipate it, for not even

young persons or children are spared. How few of us have escaped the bistouri! In point of fact, surgeons are kept busy cutting off appendices and tonsils and slitting every muscle in our anatomy. Moreover, parturition is becoming more and more difficult and painful, while the recuperative powers of patients are growing weaker and their recovery getting slower. There is hardly any human body in the so-called civilized world which is sound and whole. The human race is at present mostly a collection of oddities; the writer and most probably the reader of these lines also are no exception. Bilateral symmetry and segmentary proportion are features rare and fast disappearing from the human form, while balanced minds are conspicuous merely because seldom met with. We are lop-sided in body, lop-sided in mind, lop-sided in character. In the combined presence of so much asymmetry, disproportion, and want of mental poise—not to speak of dishonesty, cruelty and other vices—it is hard to believe that we are in a state of evolutionary transition heralding a higher type of humanity.

If this outline of events be accurate in principle, it is evident that our racial, political, and economic problems increase in number and difficulty at the expense of and in inverse ratio to the capacity of the species to solve them. Mankind is trapped in a vicious circle: the greater the number and gravity of our difficulties, the less fit we become to meet them; if we are not fit to cope

with existing difficulties, we are bound to intensify them and create others as well.¹ Therefore, if the process of decline is permitted to continue unchecked, a limit must be reached beyond which it will be practically impossible to dispose of the old as well as of the current and progressively accumulating obstacles, so that the road to regeneration will for ever be barred.

This is an ominous conclusion.

VICO

The foregoing analysis will help us to penetrate the mystery which has long shrouded the up-and-down phenomenon that persistently manifests itself in the life-story of human society. It partly confirms the ingenious theory of Giovan Battista Vico (1668-1744), and at the same time shows that it falls short of the truth. According to the Neapolitan thinker's *law of cycles*, the national development forms a curve; it evolves upwards to the apex and then descends. This historical process is undergone in three successive stages, respectively described as the divine, the heroic, and the human. Vico did not scientifically deal with Power in relation to the survival of the race. His treatment is historical and political, rather

¹ To a certain extent it is true that necessity is the mother of invention. Yet even to that extent, necessity must be perceived before it can stimulate the conception of a remedy. Hence our endeavour to show the existence of *necessity* for change to take a certain direction. Whether such change would be welcome or possible is a different story.

than racial and biological—a strange mixture of fact, faith and fancy, the work of one who was both a romantic and a realist.

Now there are certain events which break down the artificial barriers that hamper the free functioning of health, intelligence, and virtue in the Quadripartite Pattern of society. Such are: war, revolution, invasion, conquest, a scientific invention—like that of steam-power which heralded the Industrial Revolution—and the discovery of a new land, e.g. the discovery of America. During this comparatively short phase in which there are practically no interrupting sluices in social intercourse, the three survival characteristics may find their natural level. The freedom of action allowed to them invigorates the communal life and brings forth fruit in various directions. But sooner or later barriers are erected again, not indeed on the original foundations, but according to the original quadripartite plan. The new Favoured become gradually distinguished from the new Non-favoured, and the period of expansion continues, albeit at a slower rate, until the division between the two classes attains a certain rigidity.¹ Meanwhile, as power is constantly misused and abused, the Section of the Non-fit grows at the expense of the Section of the Fit, the stock becomes visibly or imperceptibly impaired, and there ultimately follows an appreciable decline. The social balance is unsettled, there is an era of

¹ Such a process seems to be taking place in the U.S.S.R.

unrest, a serious disturbance within the community or outside it is impending—a revolution, a barren war, an invasion or a conquest, according to circumstances. This process is illustrated by the rise and fall, and intermediate vicissitudes, of the Roman, Arabian, and Spanish empires, and there is very little hope for the human race in its train, so long as the Quadripartite Pattern is perpetuated. But let us quote a specific instance from recent events.

The chronic unsettlement of the social balance in Spain forced upon its rulers the choice between revolutionary reform at home and adventure abroad. In their attempt to conceal the bankruptcy of their internal policy, they embarked on conquest and plunder. But, far from redressing the social balance of the Spanish people, the invasion of Morocco has hastened the exhaustion of its stock and the disintegration of its organization. Aggrandisement causes embarrassment and confusion if the political organization of a community is defective and its stock weak. Britain, France and the United States, on the other hand, being faced with an issue fundamentally the same, in spite of their immense wealth and wide possessions, have chosen the alternative of reconstructive revolution which, if properly controlled as to direction and tempo, would regenerate the race and create a new and higher civilization.

It would follow, therefore, that the period during which a nation rises, prospers, and declines

cannot be fixed, the span depending on the effect of improper use of power. If the powers at the disposal of man are great and numerous, if the individual's or the nation's discretion is untrammelled, the destructive effect of such a combination would be swift and difficult to remedy. The same applies when, owing to the community being blinded by prejudices and ridden with superstitious taboos, the individual's initiative is stifled, and independent thought and effort are indiscriminately suppressed. On the other hand, if man's power is limited, as it was in olden times, before inventions became systematic and prodigious; if his individualistic tendencies are checked, as they were when conduct was rigidly ruled and regulated by custom, and tradition had a deep influence on life—abuse of power is less frequent and its consequences less fatal. It also follows that such temporary rise is not necessarily an absolute one in the evolutionary scale, and that it is possibly succeeded by a decline which brings the stock of the nation down to a level which is biologically lower, however little lower, than that on which it stood before its comparative rise.

MARX, LENIN, AND TROTSKY

The departure from common parlance by using the wider words "organizers" and "organized" instead of "employers" and "employed," respectively, has enabled the definition of Economic Individualism to apply equally well to slavery,

serfdom, hired labour, and non-commercial institutions of a private character. It has further allowed it to embrace not only organizations made up of masters and servants, but also Imperialism and war and the status of the so-called liberal professions. Capital, on the other hand, has been referred to simply as stored up human effort,¹ as distinct from its equivalent.

Karl Marx did not discover the nature of Economic Individualism. Had he done so, he might have complemented Darwin's theory of evolution, and forged the link between politics, economics, and biology. Nor did he attempt to define "capitalism." Lenin, however, defined Imperialism. He wrote: "If it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of Imperialism, we should have to say that Imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism." Further on we are regaled with the full definition: "Imperialism," he wrote, "is capitalism in that stage of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance capital has taken shape; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world by the international trusts has begun; and in which the partition of all the territory of the earth by the greatest capitalist countries has been completed." There are three terms in this enunciation which require explaining, namely: "capital," "finance capital," and "capitalism." "Capital," Marx

¹ See p. 34, above.

says, "is money: Capital is commodities," and he recognizes various forms of capital: "variable" and "constant," "fixed" and "circulating." As to "finance capital," in the Programme of the Communist International, drafted by Stalin and adopted at the sixth Congress in 1928, the term is used synonymously with "imperialism"! Finally, with regard to capitalism, the nearest Lenin went to a definition of it was when he wrote: "Free competition is the fundamental property of capitalism." This, however, is hardly helpful, for the same may fairly be said of football and war. Whatever may be the meaning of this definition of Imperialism, therefore, judged by Lenin's standard, neither Rome nor Babylon could be accused of Imperialism!

Indeed, the passages quoted above and similarly involved verbiage in Marxist literature confuse rather than clarify. As we proceed with our criticism, it will appear how instead of treading the eternal paths of life, the Marxists entered a short cul-de-sac of history, where they have not ceased to perform strange mental contortions which only serve to warp the intellect and frustrate scientific research. Witness the absurdity to which Lenin was driven when he said: "If the lands are confiscated, that means that the rule of the banks is undermined—if the equipment is confiscated, that means that the rule of capital is undermined." As though from the point of view of property it were possible to distinguish land from

equipment, and as if banking could in practice be divorced from capital!

Notwithstanding the prominent part Trotsky played in the Russian Revolution and his masterly analysis of that upheaval, he has not thought out a complete or scientific exposition of the process of revolutions. This for three reasons: First he has not grasped the bio-psychological factor of individualistic self-selection, as expressed in Economic Individualism. Second, he has failed to observe the cross-division of society into Fit and Non-fit. And third, the phenomenon of social osmosis has eluded him. Hence his erroneous conclusion that evolution "lives and moves by way of contradiction."

In contrast to our analysis of Economic Individualism, Trotsky, like the other Marxists, uses the terms "capitalism," "bourgeoisie" (petite and haute), and "proletariat." These are indefinite historical names of a comparatively local character, unworthy of a scientific nomenclature, the use of which has led to a great deal of confusion. For instance, commenting on a passage of Lenin's, Trotsky wrote: "By petty bourgeoisie is here meant primarily the peasantry." "The petty bourgeois peasantry," what an incongruous phrase! *Per contra*, the terms "organizers" and "organized," and the expression "the community at large," which occur in our definition of Economic Individualism, are comprehensive, precise, and of eternal and universal value. This

is not merely a superficial difference, but a fundamental one which affects, *inter alia*, the interpretation of the dialectic of revolution and the understanding of revolutionary (or clectioneering) tactics. For it is only when one realizes that the individual may at one and the same time be both an "organizer" and an "organized," and that he is constantly conscious of his membership of "the community at large," that one comprehends to the full, and not without sympathy, the conflict of loyalties which surges in the bosom of a citizen during a revolution (or a general election), and the indecision and apparent inconsistencies which reflect these internal struggles.

Besides, Trotsky made the age-old mistake of imagining society as being made up simply of an Upper and a Lower Class of a more or less rigid character. This concealed from him the idea of inquiring into the ratio between the fit in both Classes—quite apart from their respective standards of education—which ratio is the determining factor in the ultimate result of any revolution. For it is only by the study of the Quadripartite Pattern that one is able logically and correctly to appraise the correlation of the political forces between the Favoured and the Non-favoured (and the correlation of the biological forces between the Fit and the Non-fit) in a given society. That modern society is divided into two classes is only half true. But half truths are also half falsehoods, in accordance with the maxim: *Suppressio veri*

suggestio falsi. If acted upon without reservation, they are apt to be as dangerous as complete errors. Therefore, the discovery of the Quadripartite Constitution was bound to make a contribution to politico-economic science. We have seen that it has, in fact, corrected some of the old ideas and added to our stock of knowledge.¹

Lastly, the speed and scope of the osmotic movement within a certain society are a sure guide to the formation of the Middle Class and to the character and extent of its tendencies to compromise. Social osmosis alone enables one to define the decisiveness or futility of the intervention of the Middle or Intermediate Class in a given violent (or constitutional and lawful) struggle for power—whether the struggle takes place between the Favoured and the Non-favoured, or between the ruling and the subject nation; and the direction of that intervention—whether on the side of the Favoured Class or the ruling nation, or on that of the Non-favoured Class or the subject nation.

To sum up: At its best, Trotsky's theme leads up to "the art of insurrection," while our investigation teaches men and women how to dispense

¹ The realization that human science is defective and incomplete argues biologically in favour of caution and moderation. Furthermore, since it is impossible to master all the relevant facts in human affairs, it is not reasonable always to syllogize and dogmatize on the basis of our fragmentary information, or to carry action to its logical conclusion. Hence the sound, though seemingly unscientific saying that politics are not subject to the ordinary rules of logic. Here is room for the cherishing of hope, and reasonable scope for the exercise of faith.

with it, warning their leaders, by clear landmarks, of inevitable social unrest and racial decay. The class-struggle is an objective fact, the exposition of which has been abused in order to intensify and embitter the conflict. To recognize its existence, however, is indispensable for the discovery and elimination of the causes which bring it about and sustain it. Scientific healers endeavour to ascertain the causes of disease so that, by removing them, they may cure the subject. Quacks ignore the causes and pretend to tackle the disease by treating its symptoms. Only criminal lunatics feed the causes and consequently prolong or perpetuate and aggravate the disease. Bolshevism and Fascism (or Nazism), therefore, are the twin criminal lunacies of modern politics.¹

¹ Bolshevism must not be confused with the ideal of Communism. As to attaining the one through the other, one might as well try to distil perfume through a sewer.

CHAPTER VI

THE REGENERATION OF THE RACE

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

WE have endeavoured to show that under present conditions the species itself is threatened with extinction, but not before a considerably prolonged period of agony and perversion has elapsed, of which mankind has as yet only tasted the beginning. As a matter of fact, there is already enough avoidable complication and irritating confusion to tax the patience of the most p^unileg-matic. Yet uncontrolled impatience, like good faith when unaccompanied by skill, may lead to chaos of a different kind. We should thus be going backwards and forwards from the mud into the mire and from the frying pan into the fire, as we have indeed been doing for hundreds of generations. But how to deliver mankind of the Quadripartite-individualistic incubus? There are two ways of discovering the answer to this urgent and vital question: one is by the historical approach, the other by a heuristic hypothesis. We may inquire into the factors which brought about this system, with a view to finding out the means of counteracting them and restoring society to a practically homogeneous pattern.¹ Alternatively or concurrently, but without the slightest

¹ Homogeneity must not be confused with uniformity.

suggestion that the assumption is otherwise tenable, we could imagine the existence in the beginning of an ideal society, the members of which were all perfectly fit bodily, mentally and morally, and speculate as to how it came to be converted into a Quadripartite-individualistic society.

And first, let us attempt the historical approach.

When man's inventions were still in their infancy, before the emergence of large empires, human organizations consisted of more or less self-sufficient and homogeneous tribes and village-communities, the members of which were bound together by a feeling of solidarity. Now and again there would be a domestic squabble, an affray or a feud; otherwise life flowed quietly on. Numbers were kept down not so much by murder and mayhem as by the timely death of the weaker folk, who very considerably departed in their infancy, before the community had invested much trouble in their upbringing; or a little after middle age, without unduly burdening the rising generation. Thus health was maintained, intelligence increased, while virtue continued more or less unimpaired. But so high a degree of civilization man only reached after hundreds of generations of bitter strife, during which the fiercer tribes exterminated one another, and only some of the milder ones survived. It must have taken a considerable period for mankind to settle down and heal the wounds received in those early days,

many scars of which may still be discerned in us by the aid of psycho-analysis. Yet hardly (speaking in terms of evolutionary periods) had this been achieved, when regular expeditions began to be deliberately prepared and undertaken by rapacious raiders, with a view to robbery, exploitation, and enslavement. What had been sporadic conflicts, explorations, and migrations, imposed by the taskmistress necessity, became systematic debauching wars of depredation and destruction of perverted man's own choosing.

This must have started thousands of years ago and has repeated itself in cycles all the globe over. The leader of a community became its lord, and the most prominent lord in a certain region became first *primus inter pares* and then king. For the first time Classes appeared in human society, and the Quadripartite Pattern was ushered in to mankind. After a consolidation which lasted several years or generations, the most successfully organized and best-armed kingdom subjugated its neighbours and formed an empire. Empires, however, could not last for ever, owing to the disintegrating effects of the Quadripartite-individualistic System. Revolutions, repression, wars, and invasions marked the vicissitudes of these clumsy politico-economic entities and caused them to degenerate and break up. Then once more their component nationalities, now somewhat altered through inter-imperial intercourse, led for a time independent lives, until

they were re-assorted within new imperial federations, undergoing further racial and cultural modifications. Whether the stock declined slowly or fast, depended on the intensity of Individualism and of Imperialism, on the anti-survival character of customs (such as castration, infanticide, and suttee) or of religious rites (such as sacrifices, especially human sacrifices), and on the quackishness of the art of healing.¹

Now as to the heuristic hypothesis.

A HYPOTHESIS

In order to inquire into the manner in which power functions in the development of mankind, our hypothesis of original Perfection and the imaginary circumstances which must have led to the initial stages of disintegration will prove of inestimable value: the former as a real objective, the latter as an infallible guide. Thus, while apparently retracing our steps towards a fictitious paradisaical past, we shall in fact be marching surely in the direction of an ideal, though practical, future. For the object of the theory of race-survival is to discover and define the means whereby man could control and rationalize his own evolution towards a state of Perfection.²

¹ See *This Democracy*, pp. 108-111.

² Incidentally, we may point out that it is not inconsistent with the belief in the existence of the soul and in soul-survival. If it were, one would have to argue that what leads to the annihilation of the race might ensure the survival of the soul, and that what leads to man's immunity from lesion and destruction is certain to imperil its eternal existence. For if

We need not attempt to foresee the actual appearance, capacity, or tastes of the "superman," or trouble about them. He will probably be as different from us as we are from the fish and the worm. We have so far developed only five senses—one or two more than other creatures; why should it be impossible for him to possess several more? Unlike the fish, we can live in certain atmospheric conditions; he might be able to flourish in a quite different environment. One fact, however, is certain, namely, that our present system leads not towards the "superman," whatever he will be like, but to the "subman," conspicuous types of whom are legion. Nor is it necessary, for the pursuit of our inquiry, to define either health or intelligence—the two survival attributes which it is virtuous to promote. Suffice it to assume their existence and to treat them as unknown quantities.

Let us suppose, then, that in a community of perfectly intelligent and healthy (and therefore powerful) and virtuous persons there are in force

the attainment of Perfection were incompatible with the survival of the soul, then the extinction of the soul would of necessity occur during the everlasting life of the body. In other words, the body would continue to exist independently of the soul—which would argue conclusively against the necessity of possessing a soul! On the other hand, for the ideal of race-survival to be compatible with the belief in the survival of the soul after death, one has only to accept the reasonable proposition that if the body becomes indestructible, the soul—assuming it may exist apart from the body—will not survive it, that is to say, that when man reaches the state of Perfection, his soul and body will be eternally inseparable.

no laws, customs, or conventions, there exists no tribunal or administrative authority of any kind, and every member is at liberty to do exactly as and what he or she pleases. In such circumstances of great power coupled with full discretion, abuses must needs arise. For whenever power of any kind is possessed by individuals who, in the exercise of that power, are not effectively controlled by and accountable to the community at large, directly or indirectly, then sooner or later, to a greater or less degree, that power is abused.¹ However, it might be conceded that in normal conditions the relations between the different members would be harmonious enough, and that the bounds of continence and sobriety would not be transgressed. But should a crisis supervene, e.g. the accidental scarcity of food, or a decisive disparity between the members of one sex and those of the opposite, then in obedience to the instinct of self-selection (assuming that persons may attain perfect fitness without completely mastering this instinct), some members would use their powers primarily on their own behalf and on behalf of their intimate associates. If a corrective and steadying influence were not to supervene in time, individualistic tendencies would manifest themselves, that is to say, custodians of power would use it on their own behalf, regardless of the consequences to the rest of the community. Soon antagonistic groups would be

¹ See *This Democracy*, pp. 17-21.

formed, and the conflict between them would be settled amicably or by force. Whatever may or may not happen in the former case, it is extremely unlikely that if the issue is decided by violence, the terms of the settlement would be the same for all parties. Most probably the victors would arrogate to themselves privileges and would constitute themselves into a Favoured Class, while the vanquished would have to accept onerous obligations, being degraded into the position of a Non-favoured Class. The victors would then proceed to lay down laws with a view to permanently entrenching themselves in their superior position, irrespective of their fitness to preserve or dispense the comfort which lies in their patronage. They might even venture further and wholly deprive some members of the Non-favoured Class of their legitimate share of comfort in order to provide themselves with plenty. Thus abuse of power becomes definitely established. But the success of this tyranny must ultimately depend on fraud and actual or threatened force, the Non-favoured being continually deceived and/or bullied into a line of conduct desired by the Favoured. The history of the military and priestly aristocracies of all countries and of all times admirably illustrates this process.

Strictly speaking, dishonesty and violence are attributes which brand the individuals who exhibit them as unfit, for violence is a factor which disregards reason, while fraud perverts and misleads it. Each invariably injures the conscience

of the person who practises it, whether its commission does or does not result in visible harm to oneself or to another person. However, ignoring for the moment the disintegrating effect of either violence or fraud on those (the Favoured) who commit it, as distinct from its effect on their immediate victims (the Non-favoured), apparently nothing has so far occurred to impair the health or warp the intelligence of the members of our imaginary Favoured Class. Yet by and by, the community is subdivided vertically into two Sections—the Fit and the Non-fit. For the ordinary members of the Non-favoured Class are suffering heavier burdens and obtaining less reward, according as the members of the Favoured Class lessen their own duties and increase their benefits. Some of the Non-favoured indeed manage to maintain themselves mentally and bodily fit. Some of them may even virtuously improve their health and whet their intelligence under adverse circumstances; since necessity not infrequently acts as a beneficial stimulant to the mind, while a little hunger or exposure every now and again is not altogether noxious to the body. But the others—the direct and more unfortunate victims of inequality—cannot help being overcome and having either the one or the other attribute of fitness, or both intelligence and health, adversely affected. Simultaneously, the members of the Favoured Class, being intoxicated with power, tend to dissipate themselves by indulging in

various excesses. As the generations pass by, some of them gradually forsake the more arduous mental and physical activities, while having every inducement to waste their energies in facile pleasures and disintegrating pursuits.

But supposing the principle of Responsibility to be established in our imaginary ideal society, would this fact by itself constitute a safeguard against the advent of the Quadripartite-individualistic System?

If, at the cost of again committing an outrage against all reason, we might assume an ideal society composed of ideal members among whom the principle of Responsibility is accepted, but that of Equality is applied without judicious discrimination, so as to produce inequality in practice—that society would soon be divided into two Sections, the Fit and the Non-fit. If, for instance, in a spell of misuse of power the principle of equality were applied indiscriminately, i.e. independently of partial, temporary, or permanent disability, it would irresistibly lead to the establishment of the Quadripartite System. For even perfect members of a perfectly organized community cannot be absolutely guaranteed against the adverse effects of accidents, though at a stretch they might be conceived as being more or less immune from the attacks of disease. Again, one might go to the length of imagining perfectly healthy and intelligent persons being immune from death and indefinitely possessed of all

their pristine faculties and vigour; but none can escape the helplessness of infancy and only a comparatively few women would avoid the handicap of pregnancy and feeding.

This division of society into Fit and Non-fit would tend to undermine the sense of responsibility in the individual and the capacity for control in the community, and therefore to occasion abuse of power, ultimately leading to the horizontal splitting of these two Sections into Favoured and Non-favoured. For the less fit people are, the less they are capable of control; while the less effectively controlled people are, the more likely they are to abuse their powers. However, instead of our hypothetical society *apparently* being first divided into Favoured and Non-favoured, and then subdivided into Fit and Non-fit (as we have seen it must be in consequence of irresponsibility),¹ in the case of the principle of Equality indiscriminately applied, the reverse process takes place: society *apparently* starts by being divided into Fit and Non-fit, and ends up by subdividing into Favoured and Non-favoured.²

Thus even if we had originally been otherwise perfect, the improper use of intelligence and

¹ Only apparently, for in reality no person can be perfectly fit who is guilty of abuse of power.

² Only apparently, because a community is in fact divided into Favoured and Non-favoured immediately the principle of Equality is systematically applied without due discrimination as to the capacity and requirements of the members individually, even though such application be the result of honest mistake and not of wilful default or commission.

health—which in itself is a symptom of imperfection—must have caused our degeneration and would, if not prudently checked in time, result in the utter perversion and ultimate extinction of our species. Therefore, conversely, the proper use thereof, that is, the use of intelligence and health for their own advancement, would as surely tend to the gradual and steady improvement of the human stock to a degree of excellence. Further, as abuse of power inevitably attends upon irresponsibility, and as the principle of Equality properly applied facilitates and secures the necessary control and supervision, the road to regeneration—and to racial improvement—must of necessity lie through Stewardship, Equality, and Responsibility, as well in the economic as in the political field, both nationally and internationally.

Since Democracy is the embodiment of the three survival principles, the democratic is certainly the ideal form of government. Yet ideals are not always feasible, and therefore, any government, whatever its character may be, which aims at the establishment of these principles is good government and deserves to be supported.¹ Repressive measures, however, are evidence of disintegration either in those who, for the time being, hold the reins of government, or in the body politic generally. They might force the pace of decadence, even if they were adopted to remove or destroy obstacles in the way of regeneration,

¹ See *This Democracy*, pp. 41–69.

and to stop the drain on human energy in order to make it available intact for the general leveling up of the stock. At any rate, an oligarchy cannot for ever maintain its absolute sway, as the immanent desire for independence will in the long run assert itself in the individuals who make up the mass of the people. On the one hand, the rulers will not be able indefinitely to keep up an adequate standard of efficiency ; on the other, the number of those willing to acquiesce and to follow without question will by and by diminish. Consequently, powers must devolve upon the rebels and be handed over to more capable men. But simultaneously with the widening of the basis of authority, there goes on a process of racial decay, owing to the Quadripartite-individualistic regime. In an environment where vested interests and the threat or actual use of violence take precedence of reason and integrity, liberal ideas are forced upon the rulers only in consequence of the unsuspected or carefully concealed disintegration in their own ranks. That is why Democracy is in some quarters mistaken to be the cause or the result of decadence.

THE SO-CALLED MIDDLE COURSE

To lay down the principles which must be applied in order to secure the survival of the race is not enough ; it is further necessary to explain how to put these principles into practice. This were easy if, in accordance with well-established

precedent, we took at random any two conflicting kinds of conduct—say, Stewardship and Individualism, State-control and private control, licence and repression—and advised the reader to strike a middle course between them. Unfortunately, the matter is not so simple; nor does tradition invariably coincide with truth. We have indeed pointed out the necessity for caution and moderation in action, owing to man's fallible nature and fragmentary knowledge.¹ But there exists no relation between this and the prescription of the "middle course" as the ideal rule of conduct. When the so-called middle course is advocated, the existence is implied of two equidistant extremes. Yet often these "extremes" no more exist in reality than Scylla and Charybdis—the two legendary beings who have probably claimed more victims among those who have metaphorically tried to steer a middle course between them than all the monsters that lived. And even when two extreme courses do exist, one should not determine one's conduct in relation to them, but rather in conformity with the aim, mediate or immediate, one has in view. Aimless persons behave indeterminately. Once one's purpose is set, however, the next thing to consider is, what ways and means are open to one which lead to it. In the event of the discovery of more than one possible course, one has a choice and there may be preferences. This task presents genuine

¹ See p. 130, above.

difficulties of its own, in fact, too many for us to add to them by planting fictitious horns on imaginary dilemmas. A common example will illustrate the foregoing criticism—

An ordinary man who wishes to go on holiday, first makes up his mind as to the amount he can afford to spend and the seasonable amenities he desires to enjoy. Then, among all the available resorts which satisfy his requirements, he settles on one. Finally, assuming again that he has a choice, he decides whether to get there by road or by rail, by sea or by air. But whoever heard of a man in his senses picking two arbitrary points on the map, say Land's End and John o' Groats, and try to find the spot that lies half-way between them for his destination? And where is the sane person who entertains for a moment the notion that the Seaside and the Highlands are two extremes which he or she ought, at all costs and sacrifices, to avoid? Or has anybody outside Bedlam ever argued thus?—"There are people, and I may or may not be one of them, who can afford to spend £100 during the forthcoming holidays. On the other hand (how misleading our anatomy can be!) there are those who can afford nothing. Therefore, I must spend £50." Of course, all this is, on the face of it, absurd chatter; but is the following quotation less absurd because its fallacy is not obvious?

Amid the shrill conflict of rival ideologies, our people hold a middle course. Neither extreme makes an

appeal to us. It is our determination to build upon well-tried foundations a social and political system, the constant objective of which shall be the greatest good of the greatest number.—ANTHONY EDEN, on 12th February, 1938.

The merits of the objective—the greatest good of the greatest number, or those of the method to be followed in order to attain it, namely, to build upon well-tried foundations, are irrelevant to the present inquiry.¹ The puzzle is that the ex-Foreign Secretary described Bolshevism and Fascism as being extremes, and that he located the political creed of the British people half-way between them. Of what are they extremes, except it be class-government? And why is our people's the middle way with regard to them? Besides, assuming that these rival ideologies are equally objectionable, on what authority does right conduct lie half-way between two evils of the same degree but of different patterns? In fact, Bolshevism and Fascism have, at their respective origins, at any rate, two fundamental characteristics in common, that is to say, acute class-ascendancy and intolerance. True Democracy, being national (party cleavages notwithstanding) and tolerant, cannot be found anywhere between them or near either.

Almost five years earlier, namely, on 30th April, 1933, Mr. Baldwin (as he then was) had made a similar statement which repays

¹ See, however, p. 117, above, and p. 164, below.

examination in the light of the foregoing analysis. He said—

I want neither Bolshevism nor Fascism in this country. I want this country to continue on her proud career and show a world that has largely lost faith in democracy that at any rate our great race, our British race, among whom democratic constitutional government first arose, has a form of government that can carry this country through her trials.

Having resolved upon his end—to carry the country through her trials—the late Prime Minister cast about for means to serve it. He based his plea for democracy, not on theoretical grounds, but on two practical convictions: One, that it was a fit pattern of organization whereby to get the country over her difficulties; the other, that the British, whose ancestors had fashioned this pattern of organization, were fit to work it. Presumably, Bolshevism and Fascism were to be rejected, not because they were “extremes,” but because neither suited the British, and the adoption of neither would facilitate the solution of the country’s problems.

It is manifest, is it not, that there is no virtue or magic in the so-called middle course, so that we have to analyse our objective into its main aspects and try to discover some rational and practical way of attaining it.

THE SACREDNESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Power is of kinds without number and may be used by various agents in different directions.

For fear that it should be used improperly, that is, used against the survival of the race, either by the individual or by the community, whether by way of abuse or by way of misuse, liberty of action is reprehensible. It follows that both the power of the individual and that of society have to be curbed and harnessed in accordance with survival norms. And further, that the individual ought, as far as possible, to be informed of the various properties of different kinds of power, and to be kept fit for and trained in the exercise of such powers as, in the ordinary course of events, would fall into his custody to use on his own behalf and on behalf of the community.

The State, like every one of its citizens and constituent bodies, is under the rule of race-survival. The State is a collective organization devised to implement survival, not to imperil it. It is not an end in itself. The State ought no more to be sovereign than the individual can be irresponsible. Their powers are limited and defined by the purpose of the exercise thereof, namely, race-survival. From the point of view of race-survival, civilly the supreme standpoint, State and citizen are on the same level. Every individual is a trustee of his powers with regard to himself and to others, just as much as each community holds its powers in trust *vis à vis* its own members and *vis à vis* its sister communities. Due regard being had to all the circumstances of each case, nothing that is wrong when done by the individual can be

right if done by the collectivity, and *vice versa*. For instance, a community is no more entitled to aggress than the individual to assault. Neither ought to commit homicide, except in self-defence; and even then, only in the last resort.¹ There is no divine right of States that is denied to mere individuals.

The existence of a category of acts, namely, acts of an anti-survival nature, which are forbidden both the individual and the State, gives rise to a right—a right that is in the nature of a duty—in each to control the other, and occasions the necessity of international control. Confining our inquiry to the national jurisdiction, upon the model of which, *mutatis mutandis*, the International Society would eventually have to be fashioned, we may ask: What are the several spheres of control of the State and the individual: and upon what basis should powers be distributed between them?

With regard to State-control, it is evident that it could never attain perfection. There are limits beyond which neither law nor tyranny can reach the living individual, however much either may control him under the slightest pretext, or indeed for no reason, whenever he comes within its grasp. There is a province, the importance of which is out of all proportion to its size, which

¹ This is the line, it is submitted, on which one ought to argue for or against the infliction of any punishment, including capital punishment, or any kind of coercion, including imprisonment and torture.

lies within the exclusive control of the individual. There are moments, some of them crucial moments, when the individual is supreme master of the situation. Furthermore, State-control can only be effected through individuals: An act or omission can be made lawful or unlawful if a sufficient number of individuals positively desire it so to be, or passively suffer it to exist. No law can live, no tyrannical command can be carried out, unless an adequate number of individuals can be found who could be trusted to enforce it.

We may then say that the individual's sphere of action embraces private control, i.e. control by the individual of his discretionary powers, and the implementing of State-control. But that is not all; there remains a third function to be considered. The obligation of the State to control the use of power by the individual, with a view to race-survival, is a trust of which the individual is a beneficiary. Those who exercise authority in the State are accountable for their stewardship to the individual members thereof, and therefore, it falls to the individual to control and supervise the administration of this public trust. The task is far from being a light one, since the duties of Stewardship are not always severable, definite and rigid. They are, moreover, often liable to be evaded without detection—timely detection, at any rate—and to be unconsciously overlooked.

The above exposition leads irresistibly to the conclusion that the control and care of the State

ought to be directed towards rendering the individual capable of controlling himself, helping the State to control its citizens, and controlling the State itself. And since the individual's capacity for controlling the State and helping it to control its members depends on his capacity to control and direct the powers which lie in his discretion, it follows that self-discipline and considerate self-expression are the most vital elements in race-survival. That is why the freedom of the individual is indefeasible. The tendency for the external control exercised by and on behalf of the State to cramp the internal control of the self and to hamper initiative, ought to be vigilantly watched and adequately safeguarded against. The true function of State-control is to develop and supplement self-control and to see that it is commensurate with considerate self-expression. Intervention must not be confused with interference. Social solidarity cannot be fully consummated except when each individual has an opportunity of contributing the maximum he can to the communal fund, and possesses the equipment which requires the minimum assistance that the State can give.

Paradox though it may at first sight seem, freedom can only flourish when both the power of the community and that of the individual are duly limited, the two mutually controlling and supporting each other under well organized machinery. We have seen this exemplified by

the road restrictions imposed on motorists and pedestrians.¹ The freedom of the individual is indispensable to the survival of the race; it is not only consistent with judicious communal control, but cannot fulfil itself without it. Therefore, in order to conform to survival principles, legislation must satisfy two main requisites: It must convert powers into trusts, and institute appropriate devices whereby the individual and the community should be able to enforce these trusts. This is not so easy as it sounds. All the resourcefulness of statesmen will be required to frame laws, *inter alia*, for the control² of Industry, without sterilizing and stifling initiative; for the control of Education, without subjecting it to party bias; for the control of the Press, without impinging on the freedom of opinion, or perverting the truth; for the wielding of power in their respective spheres by the fittest, without encouraging the growth or maintenance of vested interests. If these and other safeguards are not secured and maintained, Individualism will continue and, if at some time abolished, will resume its blighting sway. It is the failure of Russian statesmanship to devise appropriate means of control and to secure these safeguards which has led to the bloody purges with which we have become familiar.

¹ See pp. 92-3, above.

² Control must not be confused with nationalization, which is but one kind of control.

CHAPTER VII

PERMUTATIONS AND PERSISTENCY

THE ADVANCE OF MAN

IF it be true that Economic Individualism perpetuates the Quadripartite Pattern of society, whatever the origin of the latter may be, and that, in its national aspect, it sooner or later leads to war, and engenders and maintains Imperialism; how has the human race survived and advanced, in spite of the evil effects of the Quadripartite-Individualistic System? The answer is simply this: In the same way that it has emerged into existence in spite of individualistic Self-selection (i.e. the relentless struggle for adaptation between the animate and the inanimate agencies, between different species, and between individuals of the same species), namely, because individualistic Self-selection alternated or co-acted with Stewardship. True, both individualistic Self-selection and its offspring Economic Individualism inflict biological losses on the race, but these losses need not be, nor have they always been, fatal to it. This for two reasons, that is to say: First, when environment was kind and the advice tendered by instinct or intelligence sound and fruitful, the species avoided the blind jabs of Natural Selection. Secondly, the principle of

Stewardship has played an important role in evolution almost from the very beginning, constantly attempting to check the evils of individualistic Self-selection and anti-social economic Self-selection and to neutralize such of their influences as it has not obviated. In fact, Stewardship is fiduciary Self-selection and, as such, a potent factor in Natural Selection; it acts as an antidote to Individualism and mitigates the dire evils thereof.¹

“Sex is the strongest agent in the way of association, mutual care and co-operation. Through it virtue enters the arena of life and remains there.

“Another instinct which works in the same direction is the parental feeling, through which the individual’s virtue develops into communal stewardship and functions farther afield.

“Thirdly, the fear of a common danger brings together individuals who, in its absence, might not unite. In view of the fact that too many dangers are eternally lurking about, this is a potent factor against anarchic individualism. Through it the instinct of self-preservation evolves into the herd or social instinct, and the principle of stewardship obtains beyond domestic bounds. Yet no sooner is freedom from danger regained, either because the danger has itself actually or apparently vanished, or because of the acquisition of an effective power or faculty wherewith to counteract it, than the dormant

¹ See pp. 3 and 43, above.

individualistic tendencies awaken, reassert themselves, and stimulate independent action for better or for worse.

"Fourthly, out of such association, especially if the original danger lasts or is succeeded by other common dangers, there may spring among the allied members a sympathy independent of the binding danger and capable of outliving it. This internal development is the origin of true and enduring sociability and the beginning of the functioning, albeit in their most crude and rudimentary stage, of the two mainstays of communal stewardship, namely, equality and responsibility. Henceforth, evolution has a real chance of working in the direction of biological progress.

"It is clear, therefore, that stewardship is the natural antidote to individualistic self-selection, both individual and communal, and that, as such, it is at once the foundation of the race's past and the pillar of its future."¹

Besides, when human groups and powers were small, and knowledge comparatively adequate, anti-social economic Self-selection had no poison in its sting. Indeed, on those occasions the biological gains of the species exceeded its losses, and its capital accumulated in the shape of racial progress. At the present time, however, our political and economic units are huge, while our knowledge is comparatively inadequate and partial because, though we have discovered how to

¹ *This Democracy*, pp. 25-6.

acquire power, we have not as yet learned how to apply it to the best advantage. For example, we know how to generate electricity and to combine the elements, but we do not know the ultimate influence of electric treatment and chemical cures on the health of man. That is where a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. It is apt to beget quackery and to imperil the race.¹ And since the discovery of power precedes the knowledge of its proper use, there is a standing danger that the race will perish for lack of adequate knowledge.

EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

In a primitive stage of social development human society is organized on communistic lines, but then such organization extends merely to the spheres of defence and agricultural production and distribution, e.g. the English village-community of pre-Conquest days.² Very few services and chattels are exchanged or purchased by private agreement, most of them being provided in the bosom of the family. There is not much opportunity for one member of the community to render direct service to his neighbour, until arts and crafts appear on the scene and reach a relatively high level of development. They, being the invention of individuals,

¹ See pp. 129-30, above.

² Among hunting communities defence is communal, while hunting is done by individuals acting separately or in small groups.

remained in private hands and were rarely communalized, except when they happened to be the career of a caste, e.g. the military and priestly castes. But these castes changed sooner or later from servants and benefactors of the community into its absolute masters and cynical exploiters. However, as society progresses, the tendency is towards specialization and, for want of organizing knowledge and positive will to organize,¹ all kinds of production and distribution fall into the hands of individuals. There arise now the independent village smith and brewer, the farmer tills his private holding, the pedlar hawks his own wares, and the merchant stores up all sorts of goods and embarks on export and import. The power of the community as a conscious collective entity shrinks and is probably replaced by the authority of a local lord or a prince who grants monopolies and

¹ As an illustration of the lack of organizing knowledge and will to organize on the part of the community, we may cull from English history two striking instances: the law of patents and the law of copyright. Not till 1624 was a distinction made between monopolies generally and the proprietary rights of the inventor. In that year Parliament abolished the former and defined and protected the latter. Regarding copyright, it was first protected by granting printers' licences. Later every book had to be licensed; not so much for the benefit of the author as for the sake of censorship. Now, despite the Statute of Monopolies, which stood before them as an example worthy of imitation, it took Englishmen another two centuries to desire effectively to protect copyright and to learn how effectively to fulfil that desire. True, the Stationers' Company issued an Ordinance in 1681, recognizing copyright; but it applied to its members only. Nor was the Copyright Act of 1709, the first of its kind, a success.

licences.¹ On the other hand, autonomous guilds may be formed in an attempt at harnessing the various crafts and professions in the service of the community through caste-like disciplined associations. Yet not only does the direct relation between the different members of society individually survive this development; it actually thrives on it.

Not so when the third great change occurs with the advent of machinery, the advance of science generally, and the creation of artificial persons or corporations. Then almost every specialized branch of human activity becomes in its turn departmentalized, labour is divided, and the direct relation of service between individuals ceases. No longer, for instance, does one go to one's shoemaker to have footwear specially made by him to order; the shoe-factories are owned by corporations whose absentee members need not know, and in fact rarely if ever do know, the private customer, any more than its numerous and various agents do. The private customer comes less and less in direct contact with the actual makers or importers of the various products he consumes or uses. He gets into touch with them through similarly impersonal distributing firms the employees of which are the servants of the public at large,

¹ It is one of the fortunate features of English politico-economic evolution that the local lord's authority was partly curtailed by local custom and partly controlled by the Crown. The court of the manor and the King's Court exercised a moderating influence all over the country-side.

rather than of any shareholder or customer in particular. And what has taken place in the realm of production and distribution has also occurred in other directions: witness the number of hospitals and nursing homes—as distinct from private medical attention in one's own residence; the public means of transport and communication—the successor of the private vehicle or ship and the personally hired messenger; the organization of the press, the universities, and other institutions.

A situation has thus arisen in which the members of a community are politically and economically related to one another, not as members of the same family or as independent individuals, but as adherents of different institutions and members of various groups legally or informally incorporated.¹ It is this situation which has called forth the modern State, and in its atmosphere the authority of the modern State expands and may be strengthened.

Besides, railways not only connect the different parts of a country, but they also unify it. No network of roads and bridges can be laid out or maintained without regional and national organization. How can we have such deadly engines as motor-cars tearing up and down the country, without some speed-control (not to be confused with speed-limit, which is only one example of speed-control) or prescribed standards of vehicular construction

¹ See pp. 31 and 33, above.

and load-weights? Or aeroplanes roaring overhead, without any regulations as to low flying and proficiency in piloting?

These and similar circumstances demand a complex organization and a comprehensive and overriding authority, no matter who wields it, if order is to be established and maintained. Such social organism goes by the name of the State.

Besides these internal factors, extra-territorial influences have contributed to the formation of States, super-States, and inter-State organizations. Thus King Alfred's defensive fleet was one of the earliest manifestations of the State concept in England, and the Navy has ever since exercised a formidable influence in the increase of the power of the State as against local or individual independence. So much so that in the case of Ship-money one of Hampden's counsel freely conceded to the Crown that there was no distinction between inland and maritime counties in their liability to taxation for coastal defence. In our own time the British Empire has reacted to the post-War economic nationalism by setting up, under the Ottawa Agreements, an economic Commonwealth superstructure. Similar reasons have had similar results abroad: Fear of foreign aggression led to the federation of the United States; international conventions of all kinds and a complicated body of International Law have been evolved as a result of expansion in trade; and the Industrial Revolution, culminating in the ravages of the

Great War, has frightened mankind into a determined attempt at closer international relationship through the League of Nations.

ORDERED PROGRESS

Nevertheless, the conflict between the desire for association and that for individual independence has always existed and will last to the end of time. Similarly, the State, as a more or less separate and independent entity, will yet endure as a factor of race-survival for many a generation to come, while international co-operation grows and strengthens. Yet the conflict between individuals or States need by no means continue to manifest itself in a violent or anarchic character, as heretofore. Scientific development has so enormously increased the power of man that, for the sake of his own safety, it has been found necessary to subject that power to public control, that is, to curtail and fetter his independence and to urge him to inter-dependence. Never before have there been so many possibilities for the establishment of peace and order on earth, such favourable opportunities for the promotion of fitness in all its aspects. Experts of every kind are forging ahead in their respective branches of art and science, the globe is growing relatively smaller, and the inhabitants of its different parts are becoming closely acquainted with one another. In spite of the necessity and possibility for harmony, however, the world is profoundly unsettled.

This absurd state of affairs is due to the fact that the growth of self-discipline and external organizational control has not been commensurate with the increase of man's power.

Any appreciable discrepancy between the speed of scientific progress and that of converting the resulting powers into responsible local, national and international trusts, tends towards the dislocation and ultimate break-down of society. These two factors may fairly be likened to the two sets of wheels of a four-wheeled vehicle. What would happen to such a conveyance if it were equipped with two motors, and one motor—controlling its front (or right-side) pair of wheels—tried to pull it along at a certain speed; while the other motor—controlling the second pair—propelled the vehicle at a different speed? Surely the more closely these two speeds approximate to each other, the longer would the frame of the vehicle last.

Again, society may well be compared to a train, and its institutions to the latter's component units, with scientific progress as the locomotive. These rolling units vary in form and structure according to their respective functions and purposes: there is, for instance, the passenger coach, the dining car, the goods wagon (open or closed), and the mail and guard's vans. But they are all built on identical principles of mechanics, with a view, *inter alia*, to economy in weight, a minimum of friction and easy mobility, and are all

judiciously correlated in width, shape, and size, especially in the so-called streamlined trains. They are inter-communicating, though placed at a certain distance one from the other; they are provided with buffers and kept linked up together by strong couplings. Once the train is in motion, the driver maintains the engine at a steady rate of progress, in order to obviate the concussion that would otherwise result from the conflict of the power of propulsion with the force of inertia. At the same time, the guard at the rear keeps a continuous and close watch over the whole train, is in constant touch with the driver, and maintains a sure control over the brakes. Otherwise the coaches might telescope into or break away from one another, or the train might be derailed.

Therefore, if society is to avoid being wrecked in its rapid advance, its institutions must combine independence with inter-relation; they ought to co-operate without encroaching or overlapping; one and all must be based on the principles of race-survival; and their development must be relative, gradual, and steady—not isolated, violent, or erratic. It is by the systematic study of various institutions and by the close observation of their working during a reasonable period of time that statesmen and administrators are able to compare them, two by two, and to examine the differences between them. If a good reason be found for any difference existing between two given institutions, then it should be maintained. But if there be no

justification for such difference, then it ought not to be allowed to remain, and the two institutions must to that extent be assimilated, slowly or swiftly, according to the exigencies of race-survival. Such study and comparison are of value from another vital aspect: through them no institution or rule of conduct would be allowed to persist unchallenged, but the validity of each would from time to time be brought under review and subjected to fresh examination. To extend the application of principles successfully tried is the safest and cheapest way of development, for experience charges a very low rate of interest on her loans. True, the experience of many peoples is so scanty that it can afford them but little assistance, so that they have to borrow abroad. But such is not the case with England, the native political fund of which is wellnigh inexhaustible.

THE TRANSITION

So long as Economic Individualism continues to prevail, every citizen or group will be forced to seek personal advantage in an instinctive attempt at self-preservation—however futile that attempt may eventually prove to be for the safeguarding of the race, which ultimately conditions the preservation of the individual. While citizen A will try to turn an occasion purely or primarily to his benefit, citizen B will naturally see to it that this point is not gained at his own expense. He will probably, as a counter-stroke, try to score an

advantage at the expense of A or at that of C who, in his turn, will react in a similar manner.

So let high sighted tyranny range on
Till each man drop by lottery.—*Julius Cæsar*.

In any case, the interests of the several combatants—be they master or servant, or rival competing individuals, groups, or nations—loom larger on their respective horizons than the welfare of the community (or mankind) as a whole—that is, if its interest is considered at all.

Therefore, in order to relieve the citizens of the necessity of individually following a purely selfish course to the detriment of society, Economic Individualism must be done away with, the Quadripartite Pattern automatically disappearing with it. In fact several attempts have already been made to abolish Economic Individualism; witness the institution of the Metropolitan Water Board, the Port of London Authority, the Central Electricity Board, the various Marketing Boards, and the London Passenger Transport Board—while the nationalization of the Coal Mines royalties is impending. These measures, however, deal almost exclusively with organizational control, whereas the Petroleum (Production) Act, 1934, like the nationalization of the telephone service a generation ago, covers both organization and ownership. It is vitally important to note in this connection that reform is the monopoly of no single party in England. The history of legislation in this country shows conclusively that no political

party in the State is exclusively wedded to Economic Individualism and altogether averse to its modification and abolition. This is what the spokesman of the National Government said in the House of Lords, in reply to criticism of the proposal to nationalize the Mines royalties—

I cannot feel that, provided a case can be made out for the expropriation by the State of individual property, there is anything inimical to private property or to Conservative principles, provided that fair compensation is paid.¹

But though it is desirable to abolish Economic Individualism, its immediate wholesale abolition would be fraught with danger and would eventually defeat the end in view. In that event some citizens inclined towards idleness might, under the new conditions, feel reluctant to work; whilst others—those about to be deprived of their privileges, and their underlings—might actually take up an aggressive attitude towards the new order. Such a state of widespread passive and/or active resistance would probably lead soon to the splitting up anew of society into Favoured and Non-favoured Classes²—a recrudescence which should be avoided at all costs on account of the

¹ Viscount Halifax, 14th October, 1937.

² E.g. the U.S.S.R., where the members of the Communist Party form a distinctly Favoured Class, in spite of the fluctuations which occur in its membership by periodical eliminations and accretions. As evidence of this contention we may instance the recent "elections" under the new Constitution: (a) Two-thirds of the members of the Legislature are Communists. (b) The rest were sifted and approved by the Communist Party before they were invited to stand as candidates.

fatal consequences which, as we have seen, are bound to follow upon it. We are then faced with two difficulties intimately inter-related, which statesmen will have to surmount.

First, vested interests must be frankly and liberally considered. It is the acme of statesmanship to bring about reforms and to eliminate vested interests, without unduly disturbing these interests, lest injustice, suspicion, and jealousy embitter civic relations. For it must be admitted that some of those who clamour for the abolition of Economic Individualism are actuated purely by the hope of getting a share of the spoils. Their motive is not love of country or of humanity; nor is their aim the check of improper use of power. On the other hand, the Favoured, as a body, may rightly suspect that their legitimate interests will be sacrificed altogether in the name of communal salvation. These misunderstandings as to the real objective would tend to confuse the issue, which ought to be kept clear, namely, to be or not to be. Nothing less or other is at stake than the very survival of the race. What is desired is the death and burial of anarchic individualistic undertaking, not of the individual undertakers!

Second, the desire for public service must be cultivated, so as to form a sufficient incentive to citizens to take an active and enthusiastic part in co-operative work when the lure of direct personal advantage and private arbitrary patronage ceases to be lawful. The fact must not be lost sight of

that we and our contemporaries in every walk of life, like our fathers and forefathers before us, from the time beyond which the memory of history runneth not, have been brought up mainly, if at times unconsciously, on individualistic principles; and that therefore most of us would probably find it very hard, if not altogether impossible, at once to place our services, patronage and possessions voluntarily and unreservedly at the disposal of the community.

Now the objective of race-survival fundamentally alters our standards of value, and the implementing of its principles would require radical reforms. Having regard to our mode of living and upbringing, naturally, most of us who have reached middle age would be incapable of falling in immediately with the spirit and of fitting in with the working of this Revolution. Indeed, some of us are so prejudiced that we cannot even understand its purport or believe in its practicability. After all, we are at best mere amphibians trying to disport ourselves in a new element, though constantly being drawn and reverting to the old. In the circumstances, many attempts at persuasion are doomed to frustration, and some are purely illusory. Therefore, in order to avoid such undue pressure as would militate against the average standard of intelligence and virtue—the general way of reasoning of a substantial proportion of the population—statesmen ought to equip themselves with patience and invoke to their aid

the factor of time. They should concentrate their efforts on the youth of the nation in a way that would ensure the rise—within, say, three-quarters of a century—of a generation of young men and women adequately equipped and trained for public and social service, and intelligently (not merely emotionally) actuated by the inspiring objects of communal welfare and race-survival. “Our job in Britain is to do the revolution, and do it better than anyone else.”¹

We have cited the ant as a warning²; may we point to the mosquito as an example? In the early stages of its existence the mosquito lives in the water as a larva and a pupa. When the adult comes out of the pupa skin on the surface of the water, its wings are tender. Therefore, it uses its skin as a raft while its wings harden sufficiently to enable it to fly off. Surely, we ought to be able to do politically as a community of humans what the mosquito does nautically as an individual insect! Let us then equip ourselves for the new medium, while continually casting off the slough of the old regime, remembering always that the end of the task is entirely different from its beginning. When Simon de Montfort fought for Magna Charta little could he have dreamed of our modern Parliament; nevertheless, the step he took was in the right direction.

¹ Mr. Walter Elliot, 28th March, 1934, then Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries and now Minister of Health.

² See pp. 17 and 55-6, above.

CHAPTER VIII

ENGLAND

A CHARACTERISTIC BILL OF HEALTH

THE unique conditions of England offer most suitable material for the study of the effects of Economic Individualism and of the Quadripartite System on the human stock. For many generations she has been free from internal upheavals and foreign invasion. While she has greatly benefited from the hospitality she has extended to the Celts from Scotland and Ireland and to various elements from the Continent, she harbours very few aliens. This Island is the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution, and consequently has been in the forefront of activities, including manufacture, mining, and shipping. Its Imperialism, both economic and political, has given its inhabitants golden opportunities for development everywhere abroad, while bringing home from every clime the fruits of toilers of all races. Finally, freedom of thought, though challenged at intervals, short, few and far between, has always emerged victorious, reigning supreme almost continuously for centuries on these shores. The result is that Englishmen are the most widely travelled and most widely settled people on the face of the earth, and that of all countries England possesses

and can afford, *inter alia*, a model pattern of industrial legislation.

Yet in spite of all these unrivalled advantages, England's health record is none too satisfactory. The reason is not far to seek—it lies in the improper use of power occasioned directly and indirectly by Economic Individualism, including uncontrolled emigration. Economic Individualism has continuously gnawed at the vitals of the race, feeding the factories with healthy men, women, and children, and filling the hospitals with mutilated and degenerate bodies. Its votaries have founded famous firms and piled up enormous fortunes, at the expense of the finest stock in Europe. They have attended to the cemeteries and neglected housing; they have stimulated mechanical progress, at the cost of widespread human misery. The result has been admirably depicted by a shrewd observer and a master of expression.¹

The evils of the second half of the last century have their source in the unbridled prosperity of the Favoured Class and the unredeemed oppression of the Non-favoured masses during the earlier period of Industrial achievement. Those of to-day, however, are only partly due to the same causes, namely, overwork and underpay, overpay and underwork, idleness and unemployment. The additional sources of havoc in the health of the nation are: overfeeding, ill-feeding, and indulgence in

¹ *English Journey*, by J. B. Priestley.

anti-survival diversions. Besides, a constant flow of emigration has regularly drained the land of some of its fitter inhabitants.¹ But for these undermining factors, England should, above all other countries, have bred a race of geniuses and giants. Instead, it is threatened with a C 3 stock, and it is a poor consolation, if the fact be, that other countries are equally or even more deficient.

SOME SIGNIFICANT STATISTICS

In a perfectly sound body every organ and each part functions properly and regularly for the purpose for which it was developed and has been preserved—unless that part or organ is physiologically out of date, e.g. the appendix.² Therefore, the standard of health may best be indicated by reference to the state of the constitution generally and to the particular condition of the vital organs of the body, such as the brain, the heart, the lungs, the digestive system, and the genitals. Now, it is very difficult at present, if at all possible, to estimate the extent of venereal disease and impotence. But statistics are available of mental deficiency, tuberculosis, and cardiac troubles, and they tell an ominous tale. So do those of cancer, taking this disease as a measure whereby to gauge the general health of the body.

¹ Emigration drained abroad an undue proportion of the Spanish population, and thus contributed to the decadence of Spain.

² The state of health of an individual is independent of his biological status. An animal may be of good or ill-health, whatever the rung of the evolutionary ladder on which it stands.

We know that the number of inmates in Homes for Insane went up from 120,000 in 1921 to over 158,000 in 1931—an increase of 32 per cent,¹ whereas the population has augmented barely 5 per cent during that decade. The ratio of the increase will appear even more alarming if it is established that defectives tend to marry with each other and that this, together with other factors, leads to their stock becoming extinguished.² It would then mean that heredity in this respect plays a lesser role than environment, and that the additional recruits to insanity have come from hitherto perfectly sound or redeemable stock. Which, by the way, would show that sterilization, at its best, would only be a partial and temporary remedy.³

Again, the standardized death rate from heart diseases was 1203 males and 1107 females to a million living in 1921. It climbed to the heights of 2118 males and 1700 females in 1931.

The standardized death rates from tuberculosis and stomach troubles, on the other hand, though high enough, are appreciably on the decline. *Per contra*, that of cancer has remorselessly risen from 947 males and 970 females in a million living in 1921, to 1034 males and 974 females in 1931. It has since reached a new high record, despite the larger number of cures. Therefore, when it

¹ Census of England and Wales, General Tables, 1921 (1925), p. 121, and 1931 (1935), p. 118.

² See *Heredity and the Social Problem Group*, by E. J. Lidbetter.

³ See p. 74, above.

is definitely established that cancer is neither specifically hereditary nor contagious, the preponderating influence of environment will be obvious.

The contrast between the behaviour of cancer and that of tuberculosis is of vital importance. For it seems to show that locally efficacious medical remedies, greater opportunities for open-air life, including sports, and better housing have compelled the retreat of but a symptom of ill-health, without radically improving the physique of the nation. While the domain of one disease is shrinking, that of the other is spreading. Moreover, the fact that the number of the victims of cancer is actually less than that of the victims of tuberculosis, is set off by the consideration that the former disease is even more malignant than the latter. Thus the repercussions of such superficial defeat of tuberculosis and other virulent infections and morbid phenomena are, it is feared, reflected in the rising record of the career of cancer. Corroborative evidence may be adduced from the high rate of maternal mortality, despite the intensive efforts to reduce it.

Turning to the problem of population, the statistics show an increase of between five and six per cent at the end of the decade 1921-31. Unfortunately this is not a matter for unqualified congratulation, as there is ample evidence for believing that we are breeding mostly from the lower types of the community, and preserving some of its most unfit—at the expense of what may

be considered the normal type of citizen. Thus infantile mortality has fallen during this century from 150 per 1000 births to 65 per 1000; but many of the babies whose lives have been saved are frail and deficient, and are likely to cost the community much more than they will contribute to its welfare. It has been estimated that there are 300,000 socially inefficient children and adults, or 8 mental defectives per 1000 of the population of England and Wales.

THE MAIN CAUSES OF DECLINE

The causes of this general retrogression in the national health are multiple and must be sought in the various habits and conditions of the people.

Underfeeding is one cause; it exists in acute form in certain limited quarters. But here we must not overlook the fact that imports of, *inter alia*, meat, butter, and eggs steadily increased from 1920 to 1930, out of all proportion to the increase in the population; while the home supply of these products did by no means diminish. And since, as a rule, meat, butter, and eggs are not eaten alone, but together with cereals and vegetables, presumably the consumption of the latter commodities also has gone up.

Overfeeding, too, has probably contributed its quota to the decline. Constant work and strain beyond our natural resources compel us to resort to harmful and otherwise unnecessary extra-nourishment, tonics and stimuli. However, the

general desire for slimming, when intelligently fulfilled, may partly counteract the evils of over-feeding. But there are those who, wishing to reduce their weight in a hurry, take destructive drugs instead of following a moderate and specifically regulated natural diet which would induce the body to live on its superfluous reserves and gradually deplete them, without denying it the current supplies vital for subsistence.

The War, of course, has to bear a great share of responsibility.

So have bad housing and unsuitable conditions of work.

Yet this quintette, formidable as it is, does not seem to account for the whole deterioration which has occurred in the stock. Is there not in addition a more subtle, a more permanent influence at work? In fact, if the official returns for the last thirty years are scanned, it will be found that another class of commodities has entered this country in progressive proportions, the consumption of which has substantially encroached on that of spirits and beer. The consumption of tea per head of population has increased from 6.04 lb. in 1903 to 9.15 lb. in 1928; that of cocoa, from 1.23 lb. in 1903 to 2.81 lb. in 1932. During the latter period the smoking of tobacco has gone up from 1.94 lb. to 3.23 lb. per head of the population. In the circumstances, the question of adequate wages hardly arises; one receives the impression that the so-called rise in the standard of living is

not necessarily accompanied by an improvement in the standard of health.

Here we may note that the spread of the smoking habit among juveniles and women is a serious menace to the fitness of the rising generation. Further, that a reduction in the national consumption of strong drinks does not necessarily mean a decrease in drunkenness. An appreciable proportion of the population may have become abstemious, while a relatively few people drink more. Or strong drink may be absorbed in great quantities at intervals, instead of being taken in small doses regularly. Motoring would be responsible for this change of habit. Finally, the excessive consumption of tea, cocoa (including chocolate), and tobacco may render the human frame less resistant to the effects of strong drink.

The immediate and direct effect of strong drink has always played a major part in checking inebriety. The realization of the proximate, unseemly, and unpleasant consequences of excessive doses of alcohol has more often resulted in abstemiousness than the fear of far-off personal debility and of a distant feeble progeny. Cocoa, tea, and tobacco, however, have no such sobering lesson to teach. Is it possible that they have therefore escaped the censure, not only of the layman, but also of the ordinary medical expert? Their direct deleterious effects should not be over-emphasized, however. What is suggested here is that they disturb and try the nervous system

and burden the other tissues, producing in the long run a state of chronic unsettlement and irritability in the body of the subject, which, if and when it is not actually the source of any particular disease, certainly weakens the subject's powers of resistance to, and recuperation from, disease. That our species could in due course adapt itself perfectly to their consumption, is not improbable; but whether such adaptation would mark a step forward along the road of evolution, is the vital matter and deserves a thoroughly scientific investigation.¹

In considering the problem of malnutrition—as distinct from under-nourishment—attention must be drawn here to the unlawful adulteration of foodstuffs and to the marketing of substitutes, as exposed in the Ministry of Health Annual Report on the Sale of Food and Drugs. For example, vegetable fat and mixtures of starch and sugar are sometimes passed off as cream, and coloured baking powder as egg powder. On the other hand, some combination of starch, bicarbonate of soda, and a tartarate, coloured and flavoured, is

¹ The Authorities have recently taken the initiative in providing the Army with more milk and less tea. The Nazis discourage their womanfolk from smoking. If they succeed in this Swastikade, it is possible that the women, in their turn, might influence the men to desist from the habit. Then German importers would lose the tobacco trade, and the German Revenue would forfeit the tobacco tax. But what would be lost in one direction might well be gained in another. At any rate, provided the improvement in health and cleanliness fairly sets off any financial loss, the sacrifice of finance on the altar of fitness would be justified.

described as a perfect substitute for egg. Not a long time ago it transpired at an inquest that dregs of port wine casks extracted by boiling water and fortified by methylated spirit were being sold as Lisbon wine. The Coroner and a doctor witness expressed the view that its sale was a public danger and that it ought to be banned.

Unfortunately, moreover, it is not known as widely as it might be that ill-feeding is immoral because it defiles the race. Indeed, in certain circumstances underfeeding may be preferred to improper feeding, and a little natural produce may be better than a great quantity of treated produce or synthetic substitutes. Thus a Maternity and Welfare Officer warns mothers that "a diet of sweetened condensed milk will produce an unhealthy condition of fatness," while the Director of the National Institute for Dairying Research complains that the present daily consumption of liquid milk is only one-third of the minimum quantity that is desirable.¹

In all these cases Economic Individualism plays a decisive part.

CRIME

And now let us devote a few pages to vice, without mention of which no survey of the fitness

¹ Perhaps the day will come when the descendants of man will be adapted to live on tablets and pills, but the time is not yet. We must not telescope the ages. In these pages, however, we are concerned with the factor of health from the organizational and economic points of view. The medical aspect of the problem, vital though it is, lies outside the scope of this book.

of a nation is complete. For vice, being the embodiment of abuse of power, must needs result in unfitness, is sometimes evidence of it, and finally, especially in the case of the Non-favoured, drains one's financial resources at the expense of necessities. Unfortunately, however, no accurate estimate of the extent of vice is possible, except in so far as it is reflected in the detected and publicly exposed criminal activities. How, for instance, can it be ascertained whether jealousy, falsehood, greed, and cruelty are spreading or shrinking? Now both from the statistics and from some authoritative statements it appears that fraud of every kind is spreading, in spite of the various monumental laws framed with a view to securing honesty of dealing. At the same time crimes of violence, including suicide, increase and worsen, notwithstanding the severity of punishment. Let the following two quotations suffice—

We talk loudly in abhorrence of graft in the United States, but when we speak of bribery in England we say it is not done, or is not widespread. But some of us in business know better. I believe, judging by my own experience and by correspondence I have seen in the last three years, that bribery and secret commissions are on the increase.—Mr. F. W. Gray, Vice-President of the Rotary International of Great Britain and Ireland.

What are we coming to that bandit gangs can with impunity raid our homes and places of business and hold us up to ransom on the King's highway? Are we no longer to dwell at peace or walk abroad in

safety? Are we to be content to chain our mailbags to their carts? Are we to reconcile ourselves to a little America in the erstwhile green and pleasant land?
—Sir John Reith.

It is incumbent on us to seek the reasons for such an utterly unsatisfactory state of affairs, and to discover the real remedy, in the light of our investigation and conclusions.

In the course of a statesmanlike speech made in the House of Commons on 15th April, 1932, Sir Herbert (now Viscount) Samuel, then Home Secretary, said—

Unquestionably, by far the most important means of securing a diminution of crime is a general improvement in social conditions. The general level of prosperity, comfort, education, the whole standard of civilization of the nation, is reflected in its criminal statistics, and for that you have to look to causes far back. It was, I think, a sound observation that was once made by Dean Inge that the proper time to influence a child's character is about 100 years before he is born. He is the outcome of causes that spring from a more distant past.

And in support of his contention that the general improvement of life contributes to the decrease of crime, he adduced, *inter alia*, the fact that crimes committed by persons above the age of 60 have declined since the grant of old age pensions. A general improvement in social conditions, however, is not by itself the most important means of securing respect for the law. The general standard of integrity ultimately depends not only

on a high level of "prosperity, comfort, or education," but also on the means which, in a given social system, are best calculated to lead to prosperity, comfort, and instruction. If the means are in conformity with the principles of race-survival, if they are frank and straightforward means, such as will stand the light of publicity and the test of intelligent and independent criticism, the assistance of the Criminal Law would be rarely needed. If, on the other hand, they are not, as they are not and cannot be wherever Economic Individualism prevails, that law cannot avail; for the temptation will ultimately be stronger than the deterrent. Thus it is not infrequent nowadays—even for persons in positions obviously and expressly fiduciary—to abuse the confidence reposed in them, notwithstanding their comparatively high standard of prosperity, comfort, and education. Integrity is only too often divorced from ability.

Not much later, namely, on 15th December of the same year, the late Sir Austen Chamberlain made a simple, sober, nevertheless stirring, speech in the House of Commons. Following in the footsteps of his father when Mayor of Birmingham,¹ he urged the Government to abolish the slums "where the houses as they stand are not fit for any human being to live in." He added—

If I lived in such conditions, I do not think my head would govern my actions. I should feel that the

¹ See p. 185, below.

circumstances to which I was condemned were intolerable, that there was something rotten in a State which had permitted them to exist so long and which permitted them to continue, and I might go on to—well, I do not know what I might go on to do, I can conceive of myself taking any foolish action.

Alas! Here, too, a fallacy has wormed its way into a clear-thinking mind. For had Sir Austen lived in such conditions, it is most probable that, as he confessed, his head would not have governed his actions and that he might in fact have committed any foolishness. Yet had he lived long enough in such conditions, he would not have felt that they were intolerable or that there was on their account anything wrong in the society in which they were allowed to prevail. On the contrary, he would have been inured to his squalid surroundings and would have grown to find them congenial and ordinary. Every now and again, for a change, he would go to the High Street, the Park, or the Heath, in order to take a little fresh air or to give his dog a run. One can almost hear him on his way back to Orchard Alley or Garden Yard, invigorated by his recent contact with Mother Nature, humming to himself: "There is no place like home"!

There is the danger. Rebellion in such circumstances would show the survival of sanity and the persistence of vitality. Torpor, however, is a symptom of unwholesome resignation and acquiescent decay. Ordinary men and women take

such a state of affairs for granted, and instead of holding the long view of patiently and perseveringly organizing themselves to change it, they individually, sporadically, and impatiently resort to predatory, anti-social methods for the supply of their immediate personal wants. Their wretched existence does not permit of the development of vision and forbearance. Thus wasteful anarchy takes the place which in reason belongs to disciplined and constructive collectivism. Here is what a most experienced organizer of youth, namely, Lord Baden-Powell, thinks on this matter—

There is evidence that crime is increasing as the number of unemployed juveniles increases. I think that this is a rather promising sign, because I see in these banditry cases, robberies with violence, and smash-and-grab raids, that there is still the same spirit of adventure alive. If we could only correct that adventurous spirit and turn it in the right direction, we could make useful men of them.

The road from compulsory idleness to crime is very short indeed and slopes abruptly. Thus social circumstances make some people turn thieves and frauds, and then they are prosecuted and persecuted for being what these circumstances have conspired to make them! Under these conditions, is it surprising that, as the late Sir E. Wild once complained, "the whole of the sympathy seems to be concentrated upon the criminal, and nobody ever gives one thought to the victim"? The fact is, as often as not the criminal

also is a victim. And although the guilt in his case cannot be fastened on to any definite person or persons, there may be a wholesome, humanitarian feeling that each of us is responsible for his lapse—however slightly, indirectly, and remotely. To quote the vivid language of Joseph Chamberlain, which is as appropriate to-day as it must have been when it was uttered over half a century ago—

We bring up a population in the dank, dreary, filthy courts and alleys . . . we surround them with noxious influences of every kind, and place them under conditions in which observance of even ordinary decency is impossible, and what is the result? . . . Their fault? Yes, it is legally their fault, and when they steal we send them to gaol, and when they commit murder we hang them. But if the members of the Council had been placed under similar conditions—if from infancy we had grown up in the same way—does any one of us believe that he should have run no risk of the gaol or the hangman? For my part I have not sufficient confidence in my own inherent goodness to believe that anything can make headway against such frightful conditions as those I have described. It is no more the fault of these people that they are vicious and intemperate than it is their fault that they are stunted, debilitated, and diseased.¹

RETRIBUTION AND REFORM

Unfortunately, the relation between the general improvement in social conditions and crime is neither fully realized nor sufficiently acknowledged, as will be evident from the valedictory

¹ *Life of Joseph Chamberlain*, by J. L. Garvin, pp. 195-6.

speech delivered by the late Sir Henry Fielding Dickens on 18th October, 1932. He had then adorned the Bench at the Central Criminal Court for fifteen years, and was formally retiring from office. He said—

The tendency in modern Judges is to lean towards mercy where it is possible. But here I must sound a word of warning. One must look at the other side of the question. It must never be forgotten that leniency is dangerous if misapplied. There are times when Judges must be stern, otherwise the sentences cease to deter. Let me give an instance. About ten years ago manufacturers in this country were losing millions—I am not exaggerating—millions through a form of fraud called “Long Firm Frauds.” The Judges, including myself, saw the necessity for inflicting severe sentences in such cases, with the result that this form of fraud, though it cannot be said to have disappeared, has undoubtedly greatly diminished both in numbers and in volume.

And now take the present state of violent and reckless crime, mostly by young men, which is at present rampant in the country. The Judges, I know, are fully alive to this danger and may be trusted to deal with it adequately. It is not a light or easy task for them, for it is apparent to any thoughtful person that a strong and inflexible hand is required to put an end to this new and dangerous form of banditry. And if further powers are required by the Judges to secure this end, as I think they are, I hope the Legislature will not hesitate to give them.

Now had freedom, pleasure, and plenty been the main motives of crime at the present moment, the punishment of imprisonment, physical pain,

and privation might cure it, and Sir Henry would have been right. But the motives of crime at the present juncture are mostly to be found elsewhere. "Almost as unemployment rises and falls, crime rises and falls."¹ Many parents are overworked and cannot attend to the home upbringing of their children. Some are inadequately rewarded for their services, and others spend their income injudiciously, so that a large number of children lack sufficient or proper nourishment, clothing, and lodging. The ratio of the number of teachers to that of scholars is such that the influence they are able to exercise upon individual children is small, superficial, and unenduring. The clergy attend too much to the ritual side of religion, and not enough to the ethical. Therefore, it would have been more appropriate if the late Common Serjeant had said—

"I have been praised for having helped to suppress the Long Firm Frauds, and I am glad to say I have done my bit in that direction. But I am bound to point out that no sooner has that form of fraud been coped with than we behold a strong tide of violence on the flow. It seems as though lawyers and criminals are playing a dangerous game of see-saw: when severe punishment is administered for one kind of criminal activity, the supple human mentality diverts its nefarious energies to another. All the while the public mistake these tedious proceedings for efficacious

¹ Lord Samuel, in the speech referred to at p. 181, above.

treatment, and do not feel called upon to seek and supply the proper remedy. In my view, if it be just and equitable to remit punishment proportionately to such share in the commission of crime as is traceable to the defects in the organization of society and in the constitution of the individual criminal—as distinguished from the share for which criminals are more or less clearly responsible individually, then Judges, in their discretion, ought to show mercy frequently and on a generous scale. Truth to tell, the radical remedy for crime is not in our hands; medical skill apart, Parliament alone can supply it. The best that can be expected of us is to dispense justice within the frame of the Criminal Law, while statesmen supply and administrators apply the real remedy. I hope the Legislature will not delay in finding and granting it.”

In the conscientious execution of his duties, the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police has repeatedly warned the public against novel criminal devices and appealed to its members to co-operate with the police in the protection of their own property by taking various precautions. He might well address the Home Secretary thus—

“I have urged people to lock, bolt, and bar their doors, to secure their windows and rail their shop-windows, and to mount guard over their cars. Barbed fences and high walls surround their gardens, and they keep their valuables in safes and strong-rooms. In spite of all, however, they

are not adequately safeguarded against violence while they are quite exposed to fraud: foils, counterfoils, receipts, books, and various checks notwithstanding. Let me tell you bluntly, so far the rank and file of my staff have been indulging in a tragi-comedy of hide-and-seek with members of the so-called criminal class. No sooner do the former discover and expose an unlawful trick, than the latter invent and practise a new one. It seems very little use my pruning away at the top; there must be something rotten with the trunk and roots. If Parliament does not attend to them while the police are getting on with their job, I am afraid this oak will not stand much longer. I warn you that the police, however efficient and costly; punishment, however severe; cannot avail much in the present social state of affairs."

Surely social wrongs have to be redressed before crime can be reduced to a minimum, and before it is possible fairly to estimate the character and extent of retribution and cure in individual cases. Here is a concrete example—

While a woman was in hospital her husband was summoned and fined 20s. for not sending his 13 years old child to school. This girl had come to be known in the neighbourhood as the "Little Mother," on account of the wonderful way she took care of a crowded household. The father pleaded: "It is a matter of circumstances: there are eight children, and someone has to look after

them. I cannot afford anyone." To which the Chairman of the Sessions: "The law says your child has got to go to school." The father, in rejoinder: "Yes, but the law will not pay anyone to look after the place."

Admittedly, this was a minor affair; but the relative significance of things is not always in direct proportion to their intrinsic merit. This case, it is submitted, proves vividly that the retribution administered to the offender is less fair than the reform of the social foundations and structure is imperative.

REHABILITATION

To sum up, Economic Individualism and the Quadripartite System conspire to cause wasteful abundance, dangerous idleness, undermining want and exhausting overwork—while virtue is assailed on every side. In some countries this kind of politico-economic organization results in widespread misery, crime, and disease and a high rate of mortality. What is it that conceals, counteracts, or cures its destructive effects in this country? The answer is, the social services, which are the best organized in the world. They are administered in accordance with the trust concept, that is, not on behalf of the organizers, but for the benefit of the community at large. However, such is the waste caused by Economic Individualism that even our social services can hardly bear the strain placed by it upon them. From

the race-survival standpoint, almost every aspect of human life has been mismanaged: work, leisure, diet, mating, education, housing, and transport. No wonder our physicians are unable to save the community from the pathological and psychological troubles that afflict it as a result of such mismanagement. These problems are not peculiar to Britain; they are universal and of transcendental importance. Before their solution the question of profits and wages, that of employers and employed, and all the paraphernalia of Economic Individualism shrink to insignificance. Rehabilitation and progress according to a well-planned reconstruction, though, are more necessary here than anywhere else in the world. For this country has assumed the guidance of one-third of mankind, and has to provide men and women of ability and integrity to discharge that responsible trust, whether in government departments, manufacture, trade, finance, or science. This is a gigantic task; and if we fail to supply the required minimum of man-power of the right type to perform it, or to think out and lay down a sound policy *in time*, the British Empire will crack and break up under the pressure of forces from outside as well as from inside. This is a grave problem the solution of which, especially in the present critical condition of the world, calls for the exercise of the highest qualities of statesmanship.¹

What are the prospects of success?

¹ See pp. 110-112, above.

This country has not muddled through in the past. Its statesmanship does not suggest anything so loose and lackadaisical. On the contrary, the annals of this nation show deliberate and regular adaptation to altered conditions, and the altering of conditions with calculated foresight. The events which have contributed to the greatness of England, generation after generation, in almost uninterrupted succession, prove the firmness of purpose in the onward march of the people's destiny. Admitted, things have been done one at a time, but each was thoughtfully desired and done well. To begin with, England is the mother of Parliaments.¹ Further, not only did the English behead their king—in itself a most significant precedent—but they also gave mankind the Bill of Rights and the writ of *habeas corpus*. More recently, the Industrial Revolution and its legitimate offspring, trade unionism, were born and bred here. The idea of colonial emancipation, too, is a native of this soil. That it was conceived only after the war of American Independence shows at least that we learn from our mistakes. To turn from home affairs to foreign relations, England it was who broke the Spanish monopoly of the New World and helped, centuries later, in the liberation of the South American Republics.

¹ Iceland boasts of an older moot than the one which first met at Westminster. But to all practical purposes, the Icelandic Parliament might be in the moon. No country in the world has, as a matter of plain history, derived inspiration from that isolated corner, either directly or indirectly.

By scattering the Armada to the winds and waves, shattering the might of Napoleon, and checking Prussian militarism, England thrice freed Europe from Despotism.

Such are the deeds that stimulated England's prestige to soar high above that of her rivals, and from which her sons and daughters may draw inspiration to-day in their endeavour to lead humanity forward. It might be argued, though, that just as the Turks have lost an empire and saved their own country, we should cut ourselves free from the imperial millstones hanging round our neck. The suggestion, however, is fallacious in two respects—

First, Turkey has been allowed to work out her own salvation unmolested, because of her friendship with Russia and our immediate interest in maintaining the *status quo* in the Mediterranean. Otherwise she might have suffered the fate of Abyssinia. As to the former Turkish Provinces, they are administered now better than they ever were under the Ottoman Empire. Should we abandon our imperial heritage, however, not only would we grossly betray a trust of great promise to mankind, but we would risk our own independence into the bargain.

Second, Britain is in the vanguard of civilization, and the vastness, wealth and variety of her political and economic empires endow her with tremendous power. She is not only a country that counts and must be reckoned with; her

stability and liberal tradition rally round her numerous nations. Apart from the Dominions, and partly because of our close association with them, Europe looks to England for salvation, and our potentiality for good is increased by the goodwill that our neighbours entertain towards us. For instance, the foreign policy of the United States runs "parallel" to our own; in their own interests, France (and also her Continental associates), Irak and Egypt loan to us their territories and frontiers; from the point of view of the Netherland Government, Singapore is not merely a British naval base, but also the honorary guardian of the Dutch Indies. Portugal, too, relies on our old friendship for the integrity of her scattered settlements. But if our power to help our friends is immense, our capacity to harass and exhaust an enemy is practically unlimited.

In these circumstances, the fact that our two empires do not coincide but overlap, and that we are not capable of using all the opportunities they offer, may be confirmed into a source of great strength. If we dispense our excessive patronage judiciously and in a fiduciary manner, our resources will not be circumscribed by our relatively restricted numbers. It behoves the British peoples of the Empire, therefore, not to play the dog in the manger by forbidding any kind of foreigners from exploiting the surplus estates starved of man-power which we cannot provide. Nor ought they, medieval fashion, to

throw (economic) chastity belts round British Possessions and exclude all manner of foreign goods and services. Such measures are immoral (i.e. anti-racial) and would eventually prove ineffectual. In order to avoid the disaster of invasion, we must reconstruct our internal organization, and at the same time devise a system of controlled osmotic immigration, based upon our economic and cultural absorptive capacity.

The fundamental question is: Are we able to carry through this double-fronted revolution?

There is ample evidence of promise; yet the prospect is not entirely free from evil omens, the extent of which it is as well to maximize rather than minimize. There is a vast human sympathy among the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of this island. Numerous thoughtful men and women—and they are by no means confined to any single political party—are heartily discontented with the present state of affairs and aspire towards better conditions of life and the uplifting of mankind. The British are gifted with a sense of civic responsibility and of justice. They are traditionally equipped with political training and administrative capacity. Indeed, no statesman could wish for a better raw material to work on. Our Constitutional institutions are native and virile; our politics are almost free from graft, our judges are incorruptible, our workmen are amongst the most skilful, and our Civil Service is the most dutiful in the world. Nevertheless,

we have too often used our freedom for wrangling rather than for constructive work, for quarrelling rather than for co-operation. We have for too long frittered away a good deal of our energies in various non-survival activities. Above all, we have been apt to confuse Economic and Social Individualism, which are the canker of human society, with the freedom of the individual, which is indispensable to the survival of the race. The apparent mitigation of these evils by palliatives of one sort and another makes the advent of genuine regeneration actually more difficult, though seemingly less urgent, and might render it altogether impossible. Let Britain, then, once more show the world betimes that radical changes can be brought about according to a broad national-imperial policy, the acceptance or rejection of which would be fought out at the polling-booths—the bloodless shambles of Democracy!

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